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REGIONAL AFFAIRS

GULF STATES EXPAND ALUMINUM INDUSTRY CAPACITIES

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ZEITUNG/BLICK DURCH DIE WIRTSCHAFT in German
20 Apr 86 p 2

[Article by W. An.]

[Text] In several countries of the Gulf region (Bahrain, United Arab Emirates, Oman and Saudi Arabia) investments continue in the development of the aluminum industry, which can produce at low cost because of the natural gas basis. The two aluminum works of the economic region, which are located in Bahrain and the United Arab Emirates (Dubai Emirate), recently have operated quite successfully. Furthermore, the first aluminum rolling mill was put on stream in Bahrain. In the Oman Sultanate a plant for aluminum processing is being built and in Saudi Arabia aluminum processing is being further expanded.

Aluminium Bahrain (Alba) recently announced that it intends to increase the capacity of its aluminum works by about 25 percent during the next 5 years at a cost of 60 million Bahrain dinars (one Bahrain dinar corresponds approximately to DM 6.66). The present annual capacity amounts to 175,000 tons of crude aluminum; it is to be increased to about 220,000 tons. In a first expansion phase, the annual capacity is to increase by 25,000 tons by 1988 and then in a second phase by an additional 20,000 to 25,000 tons. In 1984 Aluminium Bahrain (Alba) achieved a record production of crude aluminum of 177,285 tons. Share owners of Alba are the government of Bahrain with 57.9 percent, the Saudi Arabian government with 20 percent, Kaiser Aluminium Bahrain, a joint venture company of the U.S. Kaiser Engineers and Constructors Incorporated, Oakland, California, with 17 percent, and the German firm of Breton Investments with 5.1 percent.

Near the Alba aluminum works, the aluminum rolling mill of the Gulf Aluminium Rolling Mill Company (Garmco) on the island of Sitra was officially inaugurated in mid-January 1986; the rolling mill required investments of about \$ 100 million and has an annual capacity of 40,000 tons of aluminum sheet and strips. The aluminum rolling mill, which can later be expanded to an annual capacity of 80,000 tons of rolled stock, was a turnkey construction of the Japanese Kobe Steel Company Ltd. The Gulf Organization for Industrial Consulting (GOIC) promoted the project. The already mentioned Kaiser Engineers and Constructors Incorporated performed consulting tasks.

In the capital of Garmco amounting to \$ 63.7 million, Bahrain, Iraq, Kuwait, and Saudi Arabia have shares of 20 percent each; Qatar and Oman, 10 percent shares each. Garmco, which obtains the crude aluminum required for its production from Alba, will deliver its products especially to countries of the Gulf region. It has already received orders amounting to a total of \$ 10 million from the two Saudi Arabian enterprises Jeddah Beverage Can Making Company, Jeddah, and Continental Can of Saudi Arabia, Dammam. Garmco also intends to get involved in the production of aluminum foil and for this purpose has planned construction of a plant with an annual capacity of 6,000 tons, which is to be completed by 1988. Kaiser Engineers and Constructors Incorporated consults in this project, too.

In the Dubai Emirate, there is the aluminum works of the Dubai Aluminium Company (Dubal) in the new industrial and port location of Jebel Ali. In 1985 Dubal was able to increase its sales to 150,677 tons of crude aluminum, that is almost 2 percent more than the previous year and that despite the hard competition on the world market. In 1985 the two most important customers were Japan with an export share of 28 percent and the United States (23 percent). The export to the PRC increased to 19,280 tons. Bulgaria, France, Greece, Italy, and Sweden were first-time export customers in 1985. Dubal, too, invests in the expansion of its export capacity.

At the end of 1985, the U.S. Kaiser Aluminium Technical Services obtained the order from Dubal for a pilot project to raise the annual capacity by 25 percent to 170,000 tons of crude aluminum. The order also includes installation of a new computer-controlled control system. The Lebanese Consolidated Contractors International Company (CCC), registered in Athens, is now building a 75 km long natural gas pipeline (24-inch diameter) from the Sajaa field in the neighboring Sharjah Emirate to Jebel Ali for Amoco Sharjah Oil Company, by which future deliveries to Dubal are also to be made. In the Oman Sultanate, a plant for aluminum processing is being built by the National Aluminium Products Company (Napco) on the industrial terrain of Rusail. In the second half of 1986 a press with an annual capacity of 2,000 tons and an anodizing plant are to be put on stream. The Islamic Development Bank, Jeddah, supports this first aluminum project of the country with a credit of just short of \$ 2 million.

The already mentioned Jeddah Beverage Can Making Company Ltd. has started production of cans for fruit juices in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia. Within 12 months after the startup of production, an annual output of 600 million cans is to be achieved. The Jeddah Beverage Can Making Company Ltd. belongs to the area of the Mahmoud Saeed Establishment for Trade and Industry. In Saudi Arabia the Aluminium Products Company (Alupco) with plants in the industrial zone of Jeddah and in Dammam deals with the production of aluminum parts for the construction industry. Because of the declining construction activity in Saudi Arabia, Alupco endeavors to diversify its production program and seeks to step up the export to neighboring countries.

At the end of October 1985, the second Arab Aluminum Conference (Arabal 2) was held in Cairo. There it was announced, among other things, that by 1990 the demand for aluminum products in Saudi Arabia is likely to increase to about 204,000 tons in comparison to about 140,000 tons in 1984. The third Arab

Aluminum Conference (Arabal 3) is supposed to be held in Dubai in 1987 and on this occasion further discussions are to be held on cooperation and development of the Middle East aluminum industry.

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CSO: 4620/42

ARMENIAN AFFAIRS

FRENCH MEDIA SILENCE ON 24 APRIL LABELED 'COMPLICITY'

Paris GAMK in Armenian/French 27-28 Apr 86 p 1

[Text] Silence in this case is complicity because that silence means assent. Moreover that silence is an offense because it implies the distortion of truth.

These remarks obviously refer to the French press which has pointedly ignored the expressions of protest and demands staged by French-Armenians everywhere from Paris to the provinces on the occasion of April 24.

How can this silence be explained? Was the procession composed of thousands of Armenians marching from the Etoile square to the Turkish embassy not worthy of coverage? Is it possible that the sure-footed parade of determined Armenian boy scouts did not attract the attention of the French press? Were our French colleagues, who were prepared to dedicate several pages to trivial events, not interested in the music played by the Armenian Athletic General Union marching band or the patriotic songs broadcast over megaphones and echoing in the square?

Evidently, the procession that marched from the Etoile square to the Turkish embassy on Thursday did not attract the interest of the French press which prides itself on being "objective." It did not feel the need to inform itself and its readership of a communique which was issued by the country's leading political organization, namely the Socialist Party, and which was read during the demonstration.

It is true that in France and elsewhere in the world events happen which are of primary importance. Just leaf through the papers and you will see that the press reports only about terrorism and related incidents. These papers reported that "a reporter was detained for 24 hours and his freedom of speech was violated" and carried lots of pictures on this incident. The Al-Qadhdhafi-Reagan-Thatcher axis is worshipped by the local as well as the international press. More recently, the death of the Duchess of Windsor has become the leading news of the day.

All this is understandable because they are current issues. It is the duty as well as the obligation of the press to keep up with current events and to record them as they happen. But in addition to covering current events it must report on developments in the country which are related to the present in another sense, particularly when those developments take root from demands for justice or attempt to commemorate a genocide.

The French press is extensively knowledgeable about the Armenian genocide and as such the protests staged by the French-Armenians are worthy of coverage.

A silence which is unfortunately deliberate and therefore condemnable. A silence which in some sense or another attempts to reinforce the international wall of silence erected around the Armenian question and to appease the Turkish authorities.

It is painful but it is true.

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CSO: 4605/33

ARMENIAN AFFAIRS

ARMENIAN PARTIES ISSUE COMMUNIQUE ON GENOCIDE ANNIVERSARY

Paris GAMK in Armenian/French 6 May 86 pp 1,2

[Text] Armenians living in the western region of the United States commemorated the 71st anniversary of the Armenian genocide this year in a spirit of unity.

On this occasion, the Armenian Revolutionary Federation's Central Committee for the Western United States, the Governing Body of the Social Democratic Hunchak Party and the Regional Administration of the Democratic Liberal Party have issued a joint communique where they reaffirm the demanding spirit and the territorial demands of the Armenian people. The leading three institutions of the diaspora Armenians demand that the two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, "recognize the Armenian genocide officially and fully by endorsing the rightful demands of the Armenian people."

Below we present the full text of the said communique.

During the period 1915-1923, the Turkish government exploited the opportunities created by World War I and implemented a premeditated and savage genocide exterminating 1.5 million Armenians and depriving the survivors of the Armenian nation from a homeland through forced migration.

The genocide committed against the Armenian nation, which is the first government-sponsored mass murder of the 20th century, became the vilest expression of a pan-Turanist policy bent on exterminating Armenians.

This most barbaric crime in human history dealt a mortal blow to the Armenian nation, and the genocide that was committed wiped out half the Armenian population. Even more horrifying was the fact that they seized from us what is irreplaceable: our ancestral lands, the historic Armenia which had been the homeland of the Armenian nation for centuries.

This cruel occupation continues until today, 71 years after the Great Crime. To cover up this criminal seizure of land, fascist Turkey denies the existence of the genocide and refuses to accept the responsibility it has inherited by employing a phalanx of hireling historians who try to deflect the world public's attention from Turkey's fundamental crime, namely the occupation of the Armenian homeland, by disputing the documentation of the Armenian genocide.

However, despite the horrible destruction caused by the genocide, the shattering effect of the Great Crime on the post-genocide generations and the continuing occupation of a major portion of our ancestral lands, the Armenian nation has survived with a passion for struggle. On a small portion of historic Armenia it has rebuilt an Armenian statehood and it has succeeded in organizing the masses of the diaspora into a politically and economically healthy community which has become the irrepressible fist of a landless and demanding Armenian nation.

Today, 71 years after the genocide and the uprooting of our people from our land, Armenians living in Motherland [Soviet] Armenia and the diaspora, fully aware of their rights, prepare to commemorate the 1.5 million victims of the genocide and to renew their united and unchangeable pledge for political demands.

The Armenian political parties find the Armenian people's knowledgeable perception of the unified efforts made in pursuit of the Armenian cause very encouraging and are especially heartened by the inspiring phenomenon of a grown young generation which is armed with a deep understanding of its Armenian character, which is politically mature and which has become the combative and determined standard bearer of the Armenian nation's struggle of territorial demands.

The positive results of the work carried out to pursue the Armenian cause have become more tangible in recent years. Breaking through the imposed wall of silence, some governments have begun to ask for the international recognition of the Armenian genocide. The positive stances endorsed by the European Parliament, the U.S. Congress, the UN Subcommission and the Peoples' Tribunal reinforce the Armenian nation's resolve to continue its struggle.

As a result of these successes achieved at the international level, our enemy, the vile Turk, and its "concerned" friends who look out for its interests have begun trying to divide the Armenian nation.

However, the inimical Turk and all the other dark forces will not be able to spoil the unity of the Armenian nation which has been forged around the pursuit of the Armenian cause.

On this 71st anniversary of the genocide, we once again reaffirm the justness of the Armenian nation's eternal territorial cause and our trampled rights.

We demand that the Turkish government officially accept its inherited responsibility with respect to the Armenian genocide.

We demand that the Turkish government provide material compensation for the immeasurable losses suffered by the Armenian people as a result of unspeakable savagery.

We demand on behalf of the Armenian nation that the Turkish people correct the great historical and political injustice it has committed by permanently returning all the lands that belong to the Armenian people.

We demand that all the governments of the world and particularly the two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, recognize the Armenian genocide officially and fully by endorsing the rightful demands of the Armenian people and refuse to give in to any of the political pressures exerted by the Turkish government.

We demand on behalf of U.S. citizens of Armenian ancestry that the U.S. government renounce its excessively tolerant stance toward its unreliable ally, Turkey, and desist from suppressing the voice of protest raised by the representatives of the American people.

We wish to underscore emphatically the obligations of the Soviet Union toward the Armenian people and the Armenian cause in view of the fact that Soviet Armenia is a constitutionally equal partner republic in the structure of the Soviet Union.

Our territorial demands are primarily aimed at Turkey, but the Armenian nation cannot forget other lands bordering on Soviet Armenia which belong to it and which have remained under the rule of its neighbors for decades. The integration of those lands with present Soviet Armenia can rectify another injustice committed against the Armenian people.

On the eve of the 71st anniversary of the genocide, Armenians of the diaspora are making every effort to gain official and governmental recognition for April 24 in the countries they live in. We are certain that Armenians in both the Motherland and the diaspora will be deeply gratified if April 24 is declared as the official day of remembrance of the Armenian genocide by the Soviet Armenian government.

On the occasion of the 71st anniversary of the genocide, we wish to emphasize once again the unity of the Armenian nation, the eternality of the Armenian rights and the unbreakable struggle to pursue those rights—a struggle which unites all the children of the Armenian nation.

We hereby call upon the entire Armenian community of the western United States to participate massively in all the political, cultural and religious activities organized for the 71st anniversary of the genocide.

Long live the Armenian nation!

[Signed] Armenian Revolutionary Federation, Central Committee for Western United States;

Social Democratic Hunchak Party, Governing Body for Western United States;

Democratic Liberal Party, Regional Administration for Western United States.

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CSO: 4605/34

SUDAN

NIF PARLIAMENTARY REPRESENTATIVE INTERVIEWED

Khartoum AL-SAHFAH in Arabic 23 Apr 86 p 2

[Interview with Prof 'Ali 'Uthman Muhammad Taha, NIF parliamentary representative, by Idris Mudawwi: "Conversation with a Representative"; date and place not specified]

[Text] In a conversation with Prof 'Ali 'Uthman Muhammad Taha, one of the members of parliament and a representative of the National Islamic Front [NIF], to learn the front's opinion after the elections--

[Question] How do you explain your having swept some districts in the capital, particularly the districts with graduates?

[Answer] As regards the capital districts, the success of the NIF can definitely be traced to a number of causes. One might sum them up by saying that the capital is the scene of the political process: the leadership of all the parties is located there, most political activities take place there, and all the newspapers and magazines are published there. This gives the ordinary citizen a better opportunity to follow events and make objective comparisons. We have always been certain that the results of this would be for the benefit of the front.

Second, the level of political consciousness in the capital is higher than in the other regions for the same reason that was just mentioned: the citizen is close to the scene of the political struggle. Traditional loyalty is stripped away, the independent identity and personality of the citizen shows clearly, and he expresses his opinions on the basis of his political convictions. Wherever the level of consciousness becomes higher, the success of the Islamic Front increases.

In addition, NIF positions on the issues of the political struggle during the past year were the ones closest to the pulse of the street. This came out clearly in the broad response of the people to the popular demonstrations called by the front during the year, especially the "Security of the Sudan" parade. It came out also in citizen response to the front on the issues of the constitution and elections and on the issue of the South and of implementing Islamic law.

The citizen's feeling is that the Islamic Front is a cohesive entity that appeals to reason and respects consultation. It does not side with special interests or bend to the pleasure of others. This was clearly expressed by the broad response to the front's conferences and public popular forums, which were a feature distinguishing the activities of the front from those of the other political parties.

Concerning the graduates' districts, Prof 'Ali 'Uthman Taha replied as follows: The front's great victory reflects the fact that the educated Sudanese inside and outside the Sudan favors the intellectual thesis put forward by the front. It reflects his trust in the front's adherence to principle and sincerity of commitment. It also clearly reflects the waning of leftist thought with all its schools and organizations and thus reveals the weakness of those organizations and their lack of a basic foundation on which hopes for the future could be built.

[Question] Anyone who read your information would have believed that you would sweep the Darfur districts. Obviously, that did not happen. How do you explain it?

[Answer] As for what happened in Darfur, the clear and evident fact is that the tremendous material superiority of one of the other political organizations played a role in channeling political loyalty to its advantage. Another reason was the fact that some party forces were weak in organization and political movement. The result was that our political base easily fell prey to other forces that were more active and had more money.

Although the confessional and tribal loyalties that still play a role are gradually decreasing as time passes, they still have an influence because of the remoteness of the area in question from political influences and from the intellectual struggle going on between the parties. The ratio, for example, can hardly be heard in most areas of Darfur, nor can the television. As for all the newspapers, a month or two may go by without the citizen's obtaining information about anything that is happening. Nevertheless, we are certain the final voter total will reveal that the Islamic Front laid a strong foundation for moving ahead in the coming rounds, God willing.

[Question] What do you think of the coming organization of the government?

[Answer] We sense the precariousness of the country's situation and the pressing need to form a strong government capable of confronting the complex problems that occupy people's minds. We are therefore eager for the establishment of such a strong government and for the preparation of an appropriate climate for it to carry out the tasks of this stage. However, this eagerness will never be at the expense of the principles in whose light were entered the elections and by which were obtained the trust of the masses. Therefore, whatever our position, be it participation in the government or leadership of the opposition, we will undertake a constant role, that is based on loyalty to those principles and on zeal for the country's interests and political stability.

[Question] Could you form a coalition with other political parties?

[Answer] A coalition with other political parties is possible. It would be possible within the framework of the aforementioned principles. It is not one of our political principles to refuse absolutely to cooperate with the other political forces, as long as such a coalition leads to coordination in overall thought, so that thereby the desires of the masses as expressed in the mandate they gave to the various different forces can be realized.

[Question] What are the solutions you have laid down for solving the problems of the South?

[Answer] The problem of the South will remain the absorbing concern of every sincere citizen during the coming period because of its great impact on the security and the political and economic stability of the country. The problem has caused valuable lives to be lost and has dissipated energies and resources that the country needs for development and progress. We will therefore strive to stimulate the call for dialogue and to strengthen relations with neighboring powers that might exercise influence or give help in reaching a peaceful solution to the problem. We will strive to strengthen the bridges of trust between the people of the North and the various sectors and political directions in the South without exception.

[Question] What is your view on the future of education in the Sudan?

[Answer] There is no doubt that education was one of the [text illegible] affect by the policies of the previous regime and that suffered a decline, since the illiteracy rate is now higher than it was 20 years ago and the ratio of people without education is increasing year after year. The weakness of technical training represents a danger that threatens production projects. To this extent, the sector needs special attention that will provide it with resources to strengthen its institutions at all stages of general and higher education. It is incumbent upon us to give thought to discovering new resources outside the domain of the governmental support budget and to mobilize external resources outside the domain of the government support budget and to mobilize external resources for the same purpose. We must also review the situation of the teacher, his conditions of service, and the opportunities for teacher education and training, so as to assure the stability and orderliness of studies. Attention must be given to providing textbooks, college books, and other requisites for educational preparation and training.

In closing, Mr 'Ali 'Uthman Taha added: We fervently pray that God will help the Sudanese people and their political leadership to transcend self-interest and party interest and to set the interest of the country before everything else, and that all our abilities and powers may be employed in building up an independent Sudan. We affirm that we in the Islamic Front will be the happiest of people when the dialogue is objective and the struggle intellectual, far from political wrangling and trickery. I end with a verse from the Koran: "Say: 'I give you but one admonition, that you stand unto God, two by two and one by one, and then reflect.'" [Koran 34:46]. God Almighty has spoken truly.

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CSO: 4504/305

JORDAN

JOURNALIST UNION CHIEF HAILS ELIMINATION OF PRESS MONOPOLIES

London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic 23-29 Apr 86 pp 70-71

[Interview with Mahmud al-Kayid, head of Jordanian Journalists' Union, by Huda al-Murr; in Amman, place not specified]

[Text] A recent reorganization has adjusted the percentages of tenure of Jordanian newspapers in varying degrees. The new reorganization raises a number of questions about its feasibility and the extent to which it impacts on the Jordanian press. It is in this context that AL-MAJALLAH interviewed the head of the Jordanian Journalists' Union, Mahmud al-Kayid about the recent arrangements which also touched on the subject of Jordan's press in general. The head of the Jordanian Journalists' Union Mahmud al-Kayid, has been an active journalist for the last 20 years. For 12 years he was editor-in-chief of the Jordanian paper AL-RA'Y. He also served with the Ministry of Information and the Publications and Publishing Department and has been active in the Jordanian press for a long time. The interview was as follows:

[Question] What is the story behind the recent nationalization of the press?

[Al-Kayid] It is really nationalization in the accepted sense of the word, but what might best be described as an expanding of the tenure of daily papers. In other words transforming newspapers from private joint stock companies to public corporations, with a proportion of the shares being placed for public subscription while the original owners retain a percentage of the stock and other public corporations and establishments are brought into each newspaper. Proponents of this opinion say that the arrangement will ensure that the press is publicly managed rather than administered by two or three individuals as was the case in the past.

[Question] Who benefits from the expansion of newspaper tenure?

[Al-Kayid] It is said that a broader based tenure is an improvement on one that is more restricted and that this is what the government wants. The division of tenure would be as follows: 35 percent of stock for original owners, 25 percent for public subscription, 15 percent for a government fund, 20 percent for corporations and public establishments and 5 percent for newspaper staff. This is the distribution applied to AL-RA'Y and AL-DUSTUR

newspapers. AL-SHA'B, however is a joint stock company in which government funds hold more than a 60 percent share.

[Question] Can the experience be considered successful?

[Al-Kayid] That is for the future and experience to decide. Time will tell whether or not this enterprise and this idea will be in the interests of the press.

[Question] What is the history of the founding of the Jordanian Journalists' Union?

[Al-Kayid] The Journalists' Union was founded in Jerusalem in the early fifties. The first head of the Association was Raja al-'lsa and the union was established in accordance with a law enacted by the government in 1953. The Union was active for some time and then ceased its activities owing to numerous technical, professional, and union reasons and the Jordanian journalists remained without any kind of syndicate until 1969. At that time journalists got together to promote formation of a new union and promulgation of a new law regulating union issues and conditions for membership. The government at that time promptly reactivated the 1953 law inviting all journalists to a general meeting to elect a new head. Since that time the union has been functioning regularly. Its bylaws provide that its head and executive be elected annually.

In 1983 a new law was enacted amending election bylaws calling for elections once every 2 years. Elections are held in an absolutely democratic atmosphere, with colleagues often competing with each other over the title of "head." I can assure you that elections are freely conducted and are very fair.

[Question] What about the new law?

[Al-Kayid] It incorporates new provisions regulating conditions of membership and spells out the union's functions. The union is affiliated in a juridical sense with the Ministry of Information, although it was formerly associated with the Ministry of the Interior, there being no Information Ministry in existence.

[Question] What is the difference in being associated with either.

[Al-Kayid] There is no difference between one ministry and another, but it is only natural that the press be affiliated to the Information Ministry, since both are two branches of the same profession.

[Question] You say that you have organized a form of association. How does that work?

[Al-Kayid] The union maintains two lists of journalists. The first is for the active press corps whose principal occupation is in the press and includes

the staff of press institutions with daily, weekly and monthly newspapers, as well as the staff of the Jordanian News Agency, which is the official agency, along with foreign correspondents and news agency staff. The principal condition for membership is actual presence and occupation as staff member of any one of those institutions. There are now about 160 members. The second list comprises Jordanian journalists employed abroad, whose names are shifted to the first list on their return home.

[Question] What has the union been able to offer so far?

[Al-Kayid] As is well known the union concerns itself with the professional aspect and living conditions of journalists. In this connection, the successive union administrative boards have acted to secure housing for journalists. In the initial phase, journalists were able to own parcels of land on which they built their homes. Then came a second phase whereby 65 journalists were able to purchase apartments. In addition there is a third phase. The union has taken possession of a plot of land and is now making a study of building apartments for another 65 journalists. Then again we have a medical insurance scheme activated by the union's bylaws. It is a complete scheme covering journalists and all their family members. It is a high standard service using top physicians and first class hospitals. I can safely say that all journalists and their families are enjoying the benefits of the medical insurance system.

[Question] What about retirement?

[Al-Kayid] Members employed by press establishments are covered by social security, while those employed by official bodies are eligible for civil service retirement benefits. Nevertheless the current administration board has applied retirement to journalists which reach 60 years of age or who have served in the profession for 20 years.

[Question] What does the association do in case of unemployment?

[Al-Kayid] One of the functions of the union's administrative board is to find employment for our fellow journalists. It also intervenes in individual cases on behalf of fellow journalists, such as when one of them is arbitrarily dismissed without legal or reasonable justification. When that happens the association goes into action for the dismissed member, particularly since it has contacts and good relations with the various press institutions, and enjoys the confidence of the whole family of journalists.

[Question] In European countries when a journalist loses his job, his union pays him the equivalent of two-thirds of his salary. What do you do?

[Al-Kayid] We have no particular system, but the union often has to deal with such problems. When a colleague finds himself out of work for reasons beyond his control the union provides assistance according to the means available to it. This has happened quite often.

[Question] How tight is press censorship and can it be talked about?

[Al-Kayid] There is a difference between the union's relations and a journalist's relations with the government. The former are good and there are many matters of common interest in which the union has need of the government, such as in the case with assistance and certain services. For example, the present government offered a plot of land at a token price for housing for journalists. To turn to the second part of the question I would say that our press is independent and in most cases owned by the private sector. Its relations with the Ministry of Information and other official bodies are good. Moreover there is no prior censorship. Editors-in-chief and editorial bodies are responsible for whatever political, economic, or social news items, comment and the like published in their papers.

[Question] How many newspapers are published in Jordan?

[Al-Kayid] There are three dailies: AL-RA'Y, AL-DUSTUR, AND AL-SHA'B. There is a fourth published by AL-RA'Y Publishing house which appears in English, as well as weekly magazine (in English) published by AL-DUSTUR. I can say that the Jordanian press has reached quite a high standard; one of the reasons for its success is the degree of freedom it enjoys. The Jordanian press is physically independent in all senses of the word, relying 100 percent on its readership and advertising. That is why I am saying that given greater freedom, I am convinced that it will find its way to reach universal press standards and forge ahead professionally and journalistically.

[Question] Is it possible to start other papers, and what are the relevant conditions?

[Al-Kayid] The door is not closed, but the official authorities take their time about granting licenses. The reason being given is that the country cannot sustain any more than are issued at present, since a plethora of papers would rob them of material independence.

[Question] How do you treat Arab journalists who happen to be working in Jordan?

[Al-Kayid] An Arab journalist is entitled to work here if he is a correspondent for an Arab or foreign paper or news agency, but he does not have the right to join the Jordanian Journalists Union unless he is a Jordanian national. We accept Arab journalists from countries in which reciprocal treatment is accorded.

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KUWAIT

OFFICIALS DISCUSS BUDGET, FOREIGN LABOR

Proper Budget Planning Achieved

London AL-TADAMUN in Arabic 19-25 Apr 86 p 28

[Interview with Fu'ad Mulla Husayn, deputy minister of planning: "The Public Budget Is Being Presented On Time"; date and place of interview not given]

[Text] The composition of the population in Kuwait is now the subject of a debate, and official government organizations are trying to change the nature of this composition in order to strike a balance between Kuwaiti citizens and the foreign residents who are from numerous nations and are of various nationalities. The Kuwaiti 1985-90 5-year plan has taken this issue into account and prescribed a path by means of which this balance can be achieved by the year 2000.

Kuwait, like other nations whose budgets depend on oil revenues, has been affected by the international oil crisis. With the approach of the date set for preparing the state budget and presenting it to the National Assembly, questions began to be asked concerning this budget and the degree to which Kuwait is capable of dealing with the deficit which may afflict its budget for next year. These topics, along with other topics dealing with the fields of economic and developmental planning, were brought up by AL-TADAMUN in its interview with Fu'ad Mulla Husayn, deputy minister of planning, and the interview went as follows:

[Question] To what degree can Kuwait be considered a nation which bases its economic, population, and services policies on planning?

[Answer] Planning has always been present in Kuwait ever since the nation began contemplating the process of economic and social development. This has been the approach adopted in order to rapidly and effectively bring progress to Kuwait and put the Kuwaiti nation in the ranks of the modern nations of the world. Economic and developmental projects, as well as the nation's entire infrastructure, have been established on the basis of a planning approach which has borne in mind all the various considerations as well as a view of the future. This has also been true of the programmed

budgets and all the services provided to Kuwaiti society. Perhaps we should mention the Planning Council which performed its planning functions for about 15 years until it was replaced by the Ministry of Planning in 1976. Its organizations have undertaken--and are still undertaking--tremendous efforts in the various fields.

Perhaps the most important thing which should be pointed out is the fact that this integrated scientific approach had its origin in a series of long-term objectives in various fields which were generally agreed upon--something which we lacked previously. This has made it possible to design the 5-year plans on the basis of clear foundations such that they, in accordance with their sequence, can be oriented toward these objectives--and these are objectives which can only finally be reached after a number of 5-year plans. It is within the framework of this context that the formulation of the main principles and orientation of the developmental plan for the next 5 years has taken place, and these principal points are the following:

1. Gradual modification of the population structure in order to strike a balance between Kuwaiti citizens and outsiders by the year 2000.
2. An increase in participation by Kuwaiti citizens in the production process as well as the utilization of all possible means to increase the levels of their skills and develop their capabilities.
3. Furnishing the requirements for social development in order to provide support for Kuwaiti society's basic values and to enhance Kuwaitis' feeling of belonging to their nation and increase their feeling of responsibility, with the result being that they will become capable of effectively participating in the efforts to achieve the development of their country.
4. Initiation of the achievement of overall administrative development, with emphasis on development of the administrative apparatus by means of efforts to effect a radical change in the structure of public administration and to provide the necessary qualified personnel for the public administration apparatus.
5. Interest in making proper utilization of available financial resources in a way which will serve the goals of national development. This must be done by controlling public expenditures, beginning a modification of the direction of the national economy, and completing and maintaining the elements of the infrastructure in order to provide support for the production base so that the country can successfully be oriented toward diversification of sources for its national income.
6. Development of the role of the private sector and efforts to increase its participation in the various fields of development, with emphasis on production activities.

[Question] To what degree do the government organizations take into consideration the studies of the Ministry of Planning?

[Answer] There is no doubt that mutual cooperation between the Ministry of Planning and the various bodies of the government apparatus is a basic ingredient in all planning activities, and without such mutual cooperation such planning could not be successful.

With regard to the cooperation of the government agencies with the ministry, perhaps it would be sufficient to point out, as a clear indication of this, the work stages of the current development plan. Work on this plan began with a complete analysis of the situation in the nation with regard to all of the fields involved. This was achieved by means of having the ministry participate in the work together with all of the government agencies. In the various agencies, planning units were established for the purpose of coordinating the work done with the Ministry of Planning. Also, special committees representing various sectors were formed, and their members are officials in the agencies and establishments of the government. The Ministry of Planning presented to these committees the options which it proposed for the long-term objectives. After they then studied them, they were presented to the ministerial plan committee which then approved them and forwarded them to the Council of Ministers, and this was the first work stage of the plan.

[Question] One of the principal tasks of your ministry is that of making studies of the national public budgets. What are your expectations with regard to the upcoming fiscal year of 1986-87, and to what degree has Kuwait's budget been affected by the international oil market crisis and the international economic crisis, particularly in view of the fact that Saudi Arabia has postponed the decision concerning its budget? Do you expect Kuwait's budget to be ready at the time when the constitution specifies that it should be presented to the National Assembly, particularly if no effective solution is found for the international oil crisis?

[Answer] There is no doubt that the crisis which has occurred due to the decline in oil prices has affected all of the oil-exporting nations in the area, but it has affected them to varying degrees.

We in Kuwait have followed quite a wise policy with regard to this matter. We have been more concerned with increasing our sources of oil and we have succeeded in making greater use of our principal--or perhaps I should say our only--source of income. We have managed to create reserves of petroleum income which have helped us to be able to rely on the revenues received from foreign investment deposits which are not greatly affected by sudden developments in the international oil market--developments which have affected the economy of many nations.

[Question] Has the National Assembly--or the members thereof--consulted the studies which you prepare, or have the members of the National Assembly made use of your capabilities when discussing the nation's public domestic policies?

[Answer] The results of the studies dealing with economic and social activities, as well as statistical data and information, are published by the ministry in the form of periodic publications which are well-known and which are available to all scholars, researchers, and others concerned with economic and related matters. Some members of the National Assembly consult these studies as well as the data and research produced by the technical body of the Ministry of Planning.

We, for our part, wish to see the members of the National Assembly make use of these studies, and the Ministry of Planning is undertaking every possible effort to supply them with all the relevant information and data, even though such materials may not be published.

Arab Labor Force Gets Priority

London AL-TADAMUN in Arabic 19-25 Apr 86 p 29

[Interview with Muhammad al-Shubnan, deputy minister of social affairs and labor: "Current Circumstances Make It Necessary to Reduce the Foreign Labor Force: We Are Concentrating On Employing Residents, and Arabs Get Priority"; date and place of interview not given]

[Text] The issue of the foreign labor force in Kuwait has been brought up. Along with it there have circulated a few rumors which have accompanied some of the economic difficulties which the country is having, then there were the effects of Kuwait's Suq al-Manakh crisis, and all of this was then followed by the deterioration of the oil situation in terms of prices and marketing. All of these factors have had their effect on the nation's official, semi-official, and private business establishments. Then some information leaked out concerning the Kuwaiti 5-year plan which aroused the concern of both the Kuwaitis, who constitute 40 percent of the population of Kuwait, and the non-Kuwaitis who amount to 60 percent of the nation's population. The most important point being talked about has been the principle of striking a population balance between Kuwaitis and non-Kuwaitis who are living in Kuwait. This has provided an opportunity for many people to give free rein to their imaginations when launching rumors concerning the idea that Kuwait can do without its foreign labor force or at least without a large part of it.

A series of questions related to these points were presented by AL-TADAMUN to Kuwait's primary person responsible for implementing the policy of dealing with the foreign labor force. This person is Muhammad al-Shubnan, deputy minister of social affairs and labor, who is responsible for all labor affairs. The interview with him went as follows:

[Question] In view of the economic and security-related developments which have taken place in Kuwait recently, have there been changes in the policy followed with regard to the foreign labor force?

What are the standing principles followed when recruiting this labor force?

[Answer] In view of the nature of the current phase which economic activity in our nation is passing through, and in view of the problems faced by the labor market, it was necessary to take a stance in favor of either putting a stop to or minimizing, as much as possible, the influx of the foreign labor force into Kuwait. A decree was issued which determined some of the sectors involved which would have priority when it comes to recruiting the foreign labor force. These sectors are those most involved in developmental projects and which are economically most beneficial to the nation.

When the above-mentioned decree was issued and action was commenced in accordance with it and it began to be put into effect, this greatly contributed toward correcting the political path followed when dealing, in principle, with the foreign labor force which comes to Kuwait. This decision has helped to redistribute the domestic labor force in the local labor market. It has also produced a change in the rates of representation of the various nationalities in the labor sectors. They are no longer fixed, as they used to be. In other words, because of the new method which we have followed in recruiting the new labor force, there has been a change as far as which nations are exporting their labor force to us. In addition to this, the labor market in Kuwait is now saturated with the labor force which it has available.

Regardless of this fact, the Ministry of Social Affairs and Labor in Kuwait is sparing no effort to provide the necessary labor force for all of the developmental projects in our nation. Also, the ministry is undertaking great efforts to fulfill the needs of employers. However, the ministry has also been careful not to swamp the Kuwaiti labor market with a labor force which it perhaps could not absorb, which might constitute a burden for it, and which could give rise to bad social and security-related problems. This is something which we are endeavoring to avoid, and in undertaking this effort we are cooperating with the various parties and authorities concerned.

In addition to this, our ministry is always endeavoring to create a balance between supply and demand in the Kuwaiti labor market in accordance with the studies and research being conducted in the various sectors and in accordance with estimates of these sectors' development and their requirements. Our ministry always makes sure that it judges the activities of the labor force in terms of the degree of usefulness which it represents for the Kuwaiti nation in terms of its contribution toward Kuwait's economic and social development.

The Asian Labor Force

[Question] During the last few years we have seen Kuwait become oriented toward having an Asian labor force, particularly in the public sector. In your opinion, what are the reasons for this and what is your assessment of this policy? What is the ratio of Asian workers to the total number of foreign workers in Kuwait?

[Answer] Most of the members of the Asian labor force are working in some of the developmental projects which will no longer need these workers when they end, and the Asian workers will return to their own countries when these projects end. For this reason, the presence of this labor force for a limited period of time and for the purpose of performing a particular job is something which will not constitute any sort of real danger as far as various aspects are concerned, especially since there is coordination between the authorities and parties concerned which deal with the foreign labor force.

[Question] How have your dealings with the Arab labor force been? Have security-related circumstances made it necessary to have a particular policy when dealing with some of the Arab nationalities?

[Answer] The utilization of the Arab labor force, which totals 97,362 workers of various Arab nationalities, represents conclusive proof of the policy which Kuwait has been following--which is that of giving priority to the use of the Arab labor force rather than using the other labor forces. At the same time, we have had to consider some security-related circumstances made necessary by the nature of the current phase which our country is passing through and which have made it necessary to take certain precautions when recruiting labor forces from abroad, whether the labor forces are from Arab nations or non-Arab nations.

[Question] Is there an orientation among the GCC nations in the direction of setting unified labor policies which would affect the labor force immigrating into the Gulf area and the movement of this labor force among the GCC nations?

[Answer] There are studies concerning the establishment of a unified labor policy within the framework of economic and labor integration, in general, among the GCC nations. The objective of this policy is to facilitate and organize the movement and utilization of the Gulf labor force among the GCC nations. In accordance with these guidelines, decrees have been issued permitting the citizens of the GCC nations to exercise and practice certain professions and activities in Kuwait. These decrees stipulate that these persons be treated on an equal footing with Kuwaitis as far as labor matters are concerned.

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LEBANON

BISHOP NASRALLAH SFEIR ELECTED NEW MARONITE PATRIARCH

Beirut MONDAY MORNING in English 28 Apr 86 pp 6-7

[Text]

The election of Bishop Nasrallah Sfeir, 66 as the new Maronite patriarch on April 19 was seen by many as a good omen for the resumption of dialogue between Christian and Moslem leaders in hope of ending the 11-year-old crisis.

Some parties refer their good expectations to the mere election of a new patriarch as a new stage since they see Bkirki as having as great a political weight as spiritual on the lives of the estimated 500,000-strong Lebanese Maronite community and thus the Maronite seat should be able to exercise its influence to help end the Lebanese crisis.

Other parties to the crisis have further high hopes in the political mission of the Maronite seat because of the credibility and wisdom they

Patriarch Sfeir now has a two-pronged task to accomplish — a task in which he will be assisted by the Holy See, as was shown by the mission of Mgr. Silvestrini last month.

The first prong is that of uniting Christian ranks. And this is where the major challenge lies, since the Christians do not constitute a single political bloc — a statement which applies equally well to the Moslems. The Maronites are divided among the Phalangists

who follow President Amin Gemayel, the Lebanese Forces who follow Samir Geagea, the followers of former President Suleiman Franjeh — a long-time foe of the Gemayel family — and the partisans of former Lebanese Forces chief Elie Hobeika, now an ally of Syria opposed to the administration of President Gemayel. During the recent years of the crisis the feuds between these groups have often led to violence, which culminated in the January 15 putsch that toppled Hobeika and deadlocked the Syrian-brokered tripartite accord. Since then relations between Syria and the right-wing Christians have been at a low ebb, despite the Vatican initiative to restore dialogue between Gemayel and President Hafez Assad.

RECONCILIATION: The other aspect of Patriarch Sfeir's task is to help bring parties to the crisis to the negotiations table. And this is only normal in a country where, despite claims to the opposite, the political division follows sectarian lines, that the patriarch will necessarily be involved in politics.

As former President Charles Helou puts it, in a recent interview with the

Monday Morning, the new patriarch will have to reunify the Christian ranks and hopefully prove the Christian willingness to engage in national dialogue. "The new patriarch must resume (papal envoy Mgr. Achille) Silvestrini's mission," Helou said. He also said that the new patriarch may also present the Lebanese with a project that would provide them with the basis for reconciliation.

Along this line, leader of the Progressive Socialist Party Walid Jumblatt last week expressed his hopes of the resumption of dialogue with the Christians after the election of the new patriarch. In contrast to this view however, Assem Kanso, leader of the pro-Syrian Baath Party and widely acknowledged as Syria's closest ally in Lebanon said the role of the Maronite patriarchate has significantly declined over the last years, adding that the Christian political decision-making

power no longer lies with the patriarchate.

Whatever the expectations are, the emergence of the new patriarch seems to have its positive effect on the political scene, since the warring factions will apparently and hopefully, give patriarch Sfeir enough time to come out with his own project for national reconciliation.

PROFILE: Sfeir is the 76th Maronite patriarch. He was born in Rayfoun, Kisrwan on May 15, 1920 and holds a doctorate in theology and philosophy from the St. Joseph University in Beirut. He has held the post of deputy patriarch for the past 25 years, in addition to other clerical posts.

Sfeir, who succeeds Cardinal Antonios Boutros Kreish, 79, who retired after 11 years as patriarch, was elected April 19, after a six-day conclave of 19 bishops at Bkirki, and was officially inaugurated last Sunday. ●

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LEBANON

SSNP OFFICIAL INTERVIEWED ON METN SITUATION, PARTITION

Beirut MONDAY MORNING in English 5-11 May 86 pp 18-21

[Article by Reem Drouby]

[Text]

Do you think the situation in the Metn will remain as it is, or will there be attempts to gain strategic military positions?

The military situation in the High Metn is a result of the military coup in the eastern region led by President Amin Gemayel and the Lebanese Forces against their former chief Elie Hobeika. This coup was not mounted out of a personal hostility towards Hobeika, but represented a political position against the tripartite accord which we had hoped would end the Lebanese war of attrition. As a result of this military coup, the Metn front, which had been quiet except for some known incidents, flared up. The question now imposing itself is why has this front been active for the last three months, whereas other fronts are generally calm, with the exception of intermittent fighting on the demarcation lines?

If we look into the answers given by the Phalangist Party, the Lebanese Forces, the Lebanese Army, the Syrian Nationalist Social Party (SNSP) and its allies, we find they greatly contradict each other, since each side puts the blame on the other. However, I would like to stress one point, namely that I, as the (editor) of the (SNSP) radio station, was personally contacted and asked to cool this front and end the fighting there. The SNSP does not wish to create a new demarcation and attrition line, since that would not help in anything, so I agreed to the demand and informed the military officials of their obligation to respect the ceasefire. The message was broadcast in clear simple words, not coded, and I meant it to be so, so that anyone listening to our station could understand it. Our comrades respected the ceasefire, but the Lebanese Army and the Lebanese Forces stationed on that front did not, and tried to infiltrate our lines and gain advanced military positions. In these circumstances, our comrades had to intercept the infiltrators. An official of the Lebanese Army blamed our elements for violating the ceasefire, so the SNSP president and myself went personally to the Metn, but only to see the irrefutable

proofs that those violating the ceasefire were the Lebanese Army and Lebanese Forces. The front has been active since that date, and anyone who visits the region and sees the damage in Shweir, Dhour Shweir, Kinshara and other High Metn villages will be astonished to find out how the army of a country can go about destroying whole villages intentionally.

This programmed destruction is aimed at displacing the residents of the High Metn and harming our forces and party. We had no choice but to retaliate, but since such action goes against our principles, we called for an end to it. In my opinion, the Lebanese Forces and Army are activating this front for military reasons and to protect the Christian canton against any interference from the outside. This position complies perfectly with the goals of the military coup against the tripartite accord which aimed at ending the war in Lebanon.

Most security measures have failed to restore law and order to West Beirut. Can you suggest any means to curb the lawlessness there?

So much has been said about lawlessness in West Beirut, and all for sectarian political purposes. West Beirut and the southern suburbs actually house more than one million people who have been through an eleven-year war and have been subjected to violent shelling of their homes by the Lebanese Army. Such an ordeal is bound to leave traces on the population, but despite all of this I am proud of the ethical, social and moral values of our people in general, and of the residents of West Beirut and the suburbs in particular. For if only one per thousand of these million people is a criminal, a thief or an agent, the crime rate is bound to be high. But I can tell you that the percentage of criminals is lower than one percent, and a people that is 99.5% honest is a respectable people. Therefore I urge all those who criticize the state of lawlessness in West Beirut to acquire some notion of social sciences and stop making irresponsible judgements. Of course, we are disturbed by the number of criminals, minimal as it may be, but at the same time, we are proud to claim that the conspiracy aimed at the Lebanese has failed to infiltrate all sections of this noble people. Most of the criminals are but tools in the hands of factions outside and inside Lebanon that conspire against this nation.

I hold the head of authority, the regime and the Lebanese Army responsible for the lawlessness in West Beirut, for had they not gone against the Syrian-brokered tripartite accord, we would not be suffering from such lack of security now. Still, we are today on the dawn of a new era of social and political reconstruction of Lebanon.

Anyone visiting the High Metn villages will be astonished to find out how the army of a country can go about destroying whole villages intentionally.

Has the Syrian position towards President Amin Gemayel changed, and if not how can the Lebanese problem be solved as long as relations between the two regimes are suspended?

Whether Syria has changed its position towards President Gemayel or not is a question that should be addressed to the Syrian leadership, and I cannot allow myself to answer it myself.

However, if you are asking whether the national progressive forces in Lebanon are opposed to President Amin Gemayel's policy, then my answer is a sure -yes.- For it was President Gemayel himself who led the coup against the tripartite accord, justifying his action with a number of superficial excuses.

There is a conflict between two forces: a Lebanese, national, democratic, progressive force committed to a national Lebanon, and by this I mean to stress on Lebanon's Arabism, and a force that in its historical affiliation to outside countries such as France, the U.S. and now Israel. We cannot accept such a policy that goes against the interests of Lebanon, its dignity, sovereignty and true independence.

Statements against partition are irrelevant. The closure of crossings, the Barbara checkpoint and Halate airport are all partitionist steps.

Dany Chamoun said the opening of Halate airport was an urgent necessity and does not constitute a partitionist step. Do you agree?

Dany Chamoun's statement cannot be considered, for his relations with Israel is well-known, and his alliance with our national enemy is clear. You cannot ask an ally of Israel about his opinion about partition. Partition is the major goal of the the Israeli strategy, and Dany Chamoun is actually implementing this policy. He is selling Lebanon to the foreigners, and all his statements against partition are but a libel. What really counts is practice, not words. The closure of crossings between East and West Beirut, the Barbara checkpoint, the shelling of West Beirut, the escalation of the High Metn front. Hamat airport (north of Batroun) in the past and Halate airport now are all partitionist steps. But the sectarian canton in the eastern region, limited in space and capacities, cannot divide Lebanon, because the Lebanese people refuse partition and are ready to struggle for another ten years to prevent the division of their country. By combatting partition we are serving first our national interest, second our greater Arab interests, and thirdly our war against the Israeli enemy which plans to acquire our land and displace the Lebanese people from their nation, indeed all the people from the Nile to the Euphrates.

I am confident the era of Israeli hegemony and military superiority in the region is drawing to a close.

Do you expect any Israeli or U.S. military action against Lebanon and Syria, and has Syria taken any measures to confront such an attack, should it take place?

We do not differentiate between the American imperialist policy and the Israeli policy in the region, for Israel is the regional America, and the U.S. and Israel as one, two-headed monster and enemy. I am in no position to discuss the military measures adopted by Syria to confront such an attack, but I know we can rely on the steadfastness of the Lebanese people who stood against the Israeli invasion and forced the Atlantic powers out of Lebanon, as it has forced Israel out of the greater part of our occupied South. If we in Lebanon have succeeded in thwarting the Israeli ambitions, what should we not expect from our people in Syria, who was born and educated according to the principles of Arabism and nationalist beliefs? I am confident the era of Israeli hegemony in the region, the era of Israeli military superiority is drawing to a close.

Do you think the election of Patriarch Nasrallah Sfeir as head of the Maronite community will contribute to solving the Lebanese problems?

I have said before, and I repeat here that there are various indications that the leaders in East Beirut have started to realize their incompetence and are now passing their responsibilities to the patriarchal seat. In this light, if Bkirki becomes the decision-making center of all political forces in that region, it would be able to propose itself as a new negotiator in East Beirut. I know Patriarch Sfeir personally, and I am confident he is well qualified for his post. However, I belong to a non-sectarian party that advocates a separation between state and religion and the abstinence of religious leaders from political involvement. But that is my opinion and that of my party, and we have no right to impose it on anyone. And since, in Lebanon, the seat of the patriarchate has both a religious and a political role, we hope Patriarch Nasrallah Sfeir will be able to serve Lebanon and guide the Maronites and Christians towards true nationalism within a democratic context that takes into consideration Lebanon's nationalism, Arabism and the respect of its sovereignty and independence.

The Lebanese Forces recently freed 33 detainees, saying it no longer holds anyone in its jails, and an Amal official told *Monday Morning* there are no kidnapped in West Beirut. Can you comment on these statements?

The freeing of 33 detainees or kidnap victims held in East Beirut is a painful development, especially as statistics say that around 3,000 people are held in East Beirut jails. What has happened to the rest? Are we to assume they were massacred in mass? Can we keep silent about such an ugly, barbaric crime? Otherwise, where are the thousands of kidnap victims? We are very worried about their fate,

especially as those who were freed told us that they know of a large number of people still held in the eastern jails. And who should I believe, the prisoners who shared their food with their fellow-detainees and knew how many they were, or the political statement issued from East Beirut? As to what Amal has said about there being no kidnappers' victims in West Beirut, it applies only to Amal.

But the Amal official told us he was speaking on behalf of West Beirut, not just the Amal Movement...

I am not willing to discuss such a statement. I do not know if Amal has any prisoners, but I can tell you that we, the SNSP, are detaining certain prisoners who have committed crimes against our comrades. We do not have many prisoners, but we have a few, and we are in West Beirut... Our prisoners enjoy good humanitarian and health care, because the way a prisoner is treated reflects the morals of his keeper, not that of the prisoner himself. We have freed three of these detainees recently, but not as a response to the Lebanese Forces move, but rather because they had committed no major crime. We have more prisoners, and we are holding on to them because the East Beirut jails still house a large number of prisoners who we know by name. We now call on the officials there to inform us about the fate of the kidnapped. If they are still held there, fine, we can start negotiating about an exchange. But what if they have been massacred? If this has been the case, we hold those officials responsible, for whoever kills a prisoner is a vile coward.

I am proud of the ethical and moral values of the residents of West Beirut. If only one percent of these million people is a criminal, the crime rate is bound to be high.

There are rumors of an expected Israeli-Syrian military confrontation. Should this take place, what will be the repercussions in the region generally, and in Lebanon in particular?

We are living in constant expectation of battles with the Israeli enemy, because the policy of that state, since it was first established, is based on crime, enmity, expansion and violation of rights. No honest neighbor of this criminal enemy can live in tranquility and peace of mind. But Israel is not a historic state in the region. Border conflicts are natural between neighboring, historic states. But no one can conceive of coexistence with expansionist, racist Israel.

Personally, I consider that Israel has grouped all the ghettos in the world, ghettos that had refused to adapt to the rest of the people, and has transferred them to one large ghetto: Israel. But this ghetto, this foreign body in the region, cannot live. Israel can be compared to a cancer, a foreign tumor in an organism; you either remove it or it kills the organism. In this sense, our conflict with Israel is a rejection of a foreign body, and I am confident Israel will never be able to kill the Arab national organism. The fate of Israel in the region becomes thus like that of the Crusaders, foreigners who prospered here for 200 years, then left.

How would you comment on the renewal of the UNIFIL mandate for only three months?

The U.N. Security Council resolution calling for an unconditional Israeli withdrawal was invalidated by the U.S. and its European allies. And the international peacekeeping force, commissioned to help Lebanon oust Israel from its land, has failed because of the presence of the U.S. in the international body. In addition, France, which has historically called itself Lebanon's friend, was the first to withdraw its observers and call for a shorted mandate for UNIFIL. This shows that France has given up on the possibility of success of UNIFIL's mission, or that it has given in to the U.S. decision. In the final analysis, the only way to get the Israeli enemy out of our land is through our Lebanese national resistance. However, we are not seeking to belittle the political and diplomatic efforts of the world as we say this. ●

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CSO: 4400/174

SAUDI ARABIA

ECONOMIC RELATIONSHIP, JOINT VENTURES WITH FRG REVIEWED

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ZEITUNG/BLICK DURCH DIE WIRTSCHAFT in German
15 Apr 86 p 2

[Article by W. An.: "Ninety FRG-Saudi Arabian Joint Ventures; FRG Economic Relations With Saudi Arabia Have Become More Versatile"]

[Text] Even though Saudi Arabia had to defer some development and industrial projects on account of the crude oil glut and the resulting shortfall in revenue, nevertheless this country remains the most important FRG economic partner in the Middle East. The country, which possesses the biggest oil reserves in the world (about 23.4 billion tons) and can exploit them at low cost, has a considerable foreign-exchange cushion. It is especially able to promote industrialization and development of agriculture after the infrastructure (water and energy supply, transportation and telecommunications system, health care) has been largely developed.

In 1985 the FRG exported goods valued at DM 5.2 billion to Saudi Arabia, 17.0 percent less than the preceding year when exports amounted to DM 6.3 billion. On the other hand, in 1985 goods valued at DM 2.18 billion were imported as against DM 2.8 billion in 1984, a reduction of 22.8 percent. At the end of March 1986, both countries extended their Technical Cooperation Agreement concluded in 1975 by an additional 5 years. The federally owned Deutsche Gesellschaft fuer Technische Zusammenarbeit (GTZ) GmbH (German Company for Technical Cooperation, Limited Liability Company), Eschborn, has been involved in various fields of technical cooperation in Saudi Arabia for over 20 years.

The Saudi-German Development and Investment Company Ltd. (Sageco), Riyadh, a joint venture of the Saudi Arabian Ministry of Finance and National Economy, Riyadh, and of the Deutsche Finanzierungsgesellschaft fuer Beteiligungen in Entwicklungslaendern GmbH (DEG) (German Financing Company for Participations in Developing Countries, Limited Liability Company), Cologne, serves as starting point for German enterprises which are interested in investment and cooperation projects in Saudi Arabia. DEG has minority shares in three German-Saudi Arabian joint ventures, which involve the Al Bassam Global Corporation Ltd. (BGC), Jubail (ready-mixed concrete), the Saudi-Arabian Vitrified Claypipe Company Ltd. (SVCP), Riyadh (stoneware pipes), and the Saudi Iron and Steel Company (Hadeed), Jubail (steel and rolling mill). Thus far about 90 German-Saudi Arabian joint ventures have been formed (see a report on the activity of German construction enterprises in Saudi Arabia in the issue of 27 August 1985).

Recently German installation building and equipment enterprises were able to contract again important orders in Saudi Arabia. The Kloeckner Industrie-Anlagen GmbH (industrial installations), Duisburg, last year obtained three orders with a total value of DM 77 million. Of that, DM 48 million were for two orders as part of a gold mining project of the state oil company Petromin in Mahd Ahd Dhabab, a deposit known already in antiquity, 280 km northeast of Jeddah. The German enterprise builds there first of all a turnkey gold extraction plant, in which, starting in early 1988, 3 tons of gold and 12 tons of silver are to be produced annually. In addition, the construction of a diesel power plant with an installed capacity of 10 megawatt was contracted; this power plant is to provide the entire gold mining complex including the residential area with electric power. The third order, (DM 29 million) concerns the delivery of a water treatment plant which will supply the city of Unayzah (about 70,000 inhabitants) with potable water starting in 1987.

This year, the plant complex of the National Plastic Company (Ibn Hayyan), a joint venture of the Saudi Basic Industries Corporation (Sabic), Riyadh, and of the South Korean Lucky Gold Star Group, is to be put on stream. Its location is Jubail at the Arabian Gulf. It will have an annual capacity of 300,000 tons of vinyl chloride (VC) and 200,000 tons of polyvinyl chloride (PVC). From the German side, the Uhde GmbH, Dortmund, which is part of the Hoechst Group, was included in the construction of the installations. Its order comprises the implementation of the entire detail engineering, performances of services in connection with the purchase of the equipment and assistance in the assembly of the installations, which are being set up according to the technology of the U.S. B.F. Goodrich, Akron, Ohio.

The National Industrialization Company (NIC) and the Ferrostaal AG, Essen, which is part of the Gute Hoffnungshuette combine, in September 1985 signed a protocol on the founding of a joint venture called Aslak, in which the German partner is said to have a minority share. Aslak will build a plant for annually processing 50,000 tons of wire rod to cold-drawn wire with bare and galvanized surface from which fence wire, prestressed concrete wire, welding wire, nails, and blind rivets are to be produced.

In April 1987, an oil pipeline (56-inch diameter) is to be put on stream, which, parallel to the existing one, is to go from Abqaiq at the Arabian Gulf in east-west direction up to Yanbu at the Red Sea. The Arabian American Oil Company (Aramco) placed the order for the construction of the eastern section with a length of 586 km with a consortium consisting of the Mannesmann Anlagenbau Arabia Ltd, Al Khobar, a joint venture company of the Mannesmann Anlagenbau AG, Duesseldorf, and of the Consolidated Contractors International Company Ltd. (CCC), Riyadh. The ANT Nachrichtentechnik GmbH, Backnang, which used to belong to the AEG-Telefunken AG and in which now Mannesmann AG, Duesseldorf, and the Robert Bosch GmbH, Stuttgart, have a 41 percent share each and the Allianz Versicherungs-AG, Munich, an 18 percent share, received an order valued at DM 3.4 million for delivery and installation of a communications system. This is destined for the energy supply enterprise Saudi Consolidated Electricity Corporation (SCECO). The order comprises communications installations for air cable connections between power plants and substations in the south of Saudi Arabia's eastern province. Prior to that, the German firm had received an order at the end of 1984 from the Al-Rashed and Al-Omran Company for delivery

of a radio-call system "cityfon" for the capital Riyadh and the new King Khalid International Airport located 50 km from the capital. The initial capacity of the installation, which was developed by the ANT specialized field of electro-acoustics in Wolfenbuettel, is 60,000 subscribers.

The entrepreneurial area TeKaDe telecommunications installations of the Philips Kommunikations Industrie AG (PKI), Nuremberg, obtained an order in Saudi Arabia in the fall of 1985 valued at DM 20 million for delivery and installation of a car phone network. This network is designed for 18,000 subscribers.

The Hartmann Foerdertechnik GmbH, Offenbach, a subsidiary of the PHB Weserhuetten AG, Cologne, recently delivered five ship unloaders for grain to Saudi Arabia. A mobile crushing and sifting plant for the Otaipi limestone quarry was exported and installed by the PHB Weserhuetten AG.

The Orenstein & Koppel AG (O & K), Dortmund/Berlin, a joint venture company of the Hoesch AG, Dortmund, in September 1985 received an order for its escalator department in Hattingen/Ruhr valued at DM 10 million for delivery of 48 escalators to Mecca. The escalators are earmarked for three towers of the Masjid Al-Haram Mosque now under construction. The order was obtained by the O & K representation Al-Mira, which also performs assembly and maintenance of the escalators by skilled personnel trained by O & K. O & K previously had received an order for delivery of a large crushing plant in the quarry of a cement factory near Buraidah. It has a throughput performance of 1,200 tons per hour.

The Motorenwerke Mannheim AG (MWM), Mannheim, last year obtained an order for the delivery of six diesel generators with a total capacity of 30 megawatt. The value of the order to the MWM was DM 21 million. The generators, thus far the biggest built in Mannheim, are to ensure electric power supply to the southernmost desert region of Saudi Arabia.

By the end of 1986 a gas turbine power plant (175 megawatt) is supposed to be ready in the Wadi Dawasir region in the south of Saudi Arabia, which is being erected as a turnkey plant by the AEG-Kanis Turbinenfabrik GmbH, Nuremberg, for the Electricity Corporation (Electrico), Riyadh. The value of the order amounts to DM 185 million. An order for DM 160 million had previously been placed in the summer of 1984 which involves a turnkey installation of a gas turbine power plant in Layla, located about 400 km south of Riyadh. This power plant, too, is to be put on stream in 1986.

Siemens AG, Munich/Berlin, which has a 30 percent share in the Arabia Electric Ltd., Jeddah, was included in the expansion of the power supply network in the cities of Jeddah and Mecca. The respective order, valued at DM 150 million, also includes a high-voltage switching installation for the holy city of Mecca, which must be assembled by Moslems only. The Transformatoren Union AG, Stuttgart, which is part of the Siemens group, was entrusted with the delivery of the transformers. Prior to that, the Siemens AG had received a DM 90 million order for the expansion of the Jeddah electric power network.

The Daimler-Benz AG, Stuttgart, which has a 26-percent share in the National Automobile Industry Company Ltd. (NAI), Jeddah, last year received an order from

the Saudi Arabian transportation company Taseco for delivery of 176 additional "O 303" long-distance buses. This will increase the Taseco motor vehicle fleet to 422 Mercedes buses. The export of these vehicles had started in 1977.

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SAUDI ARABIA

PRINCE TURKI IBN 'ABD-AL-'AZIZ INTERVIEWED

Beirut MONDAY MORNING in English 28 Apr-4 May 86 pp 37-41

[Interview with Prince Turki ibn 'Abd-al-'Aziz]

[Text]

In our interview with him, Prince Turki showed refreshing candor, something which many Arab politicians seem to lack. He showed deep insight into the problems the Arab world is undergoing and his solutions, though plain, were not simplistic.

The prince, who is one of Saudi Arabian King Fahd's seven brothers, came through as a calm and serene man who, despite being a traditionalist, still finds room for modern thinking and attitudes. He believes in taking what is useful from the modern world for the sake of progress and advancement. He believes rightly that the process of educating his people to the ways of the modern world should be gradual. Change, he says, will come in its own time when the Saudis are ready for it.

Realism was the keynote of the interview. He has no false images of what the Saudi nation lacks. He says quite honestly that each country has its own standards that are different from those of other countries, which was why, he said, the Saudi Consultative Council could never be «as free as the Swedish Parliament.» The prince has no illusions.

Prince Turki conveyed an air of intellectuality without being pretentious. If he lacks background on a subject he would simply say he was not qualified to answer this question. But all his answers throughout the interview show his breadth of reading and culture. He is a not man to be taken lightly.

The interview was conducted late in the evening. The prince said that he felt more relaxed at night. For him night-time is a time of contemplation and thinking. 'It is a time when his emotions can take over and he then talks from the heart.

Prince Turki is a notable figure in that he encompasses supposedly opposite characteristics. He is both a traditionalist and a modernist, a dreamer and a realist, an intellectual and a sensitive man. In the world of today men of Prince Turki's integrity and vision are rare indeed.

The adoption of modern technology in Saudi Arabia should be gradual, to avoid the culture shock which has affected other countries.

You are both a modern and a traditional prince. How do you combine both qualities?

If modernism is the pursuit of science and technology, then I am most definitely a modern man, but if it means so-called liberation where one gives up his traditions, then I am not.

As for traditionalism, I see nothing wrong in living in accordance with the Koran, the discourses of the Prophet (on whom be peace), and the ways of our forefathers.

In short one can be a modernist but maintain close ties with tradition and the past. He must take what is useful from the modern world. That is why one can be both a modernist and traditionalist.

Is the Saudi state of mind prepared to accept technology?

Toynbee once said: "Technology, before becoming an equation, is an open mind ready to accept this equation." It is hard for me to say whether the Saudi mind is ready for technology.

The Saudi government has been a modern one ever since King Abdelaziz - God rest his soul - unified the peninsula. If one goes back to what he said, one would find that he called for progress and education. He was the first to send student groups abroad, who are today the bearers of the seeds of technology. But to be honest, in general the Saudi people do not find it possible to comprehend completely all the modern sciences. They are however on the way to doing so.

The leading figures of the country, led by His Majesty King Fahd, are trying to consolidate these sciences. In my opinion however, the process should be gradual so as to avoid a culture shock as has happened in other countries.

We live in a nation which walks towards progress without jumping. A few years ago there was opposition to the education of women. Today every village demands a girls' school of its own.

Is the Consultive Council exercising its authority today? If not, what are the chances it will do so in the near future?

The Consultive Council does not perform its responsibilities today. You ask about the chances? I tell you that the council itself is not important. Rather, it is the way the council operates and who chooses it.

It is easy to create a council of a few people, but would this be the ideal council?

The revitalization of the Consultive Council must come in its own good time.

The Consultive Council was first created with the coming of King Abdelaziz to Hijaz, fifty years ago. It was created when the kingdom was unified and was based in the holy city of Mecca. There has never been a resolution to dissolve the council but it has been -put on ice- and most of its members are either old or -sitting next to God-. It is no secret that there was an attempt to bring it back to life during the reign of King Faisal. But bringing the council back to life quickly is not the prudent thing to do.

Allow me to be selfish in my love for my country, but I hope that the council will wait until it has the ability to make all Saudi dreams come true. It must represent all directions. It must not be forgotten that each country has its own ways and values. So don't think that the Consultive Council can ever be as free and democratic as the Swedish parliament, for example.

Therefore, delaying the revitalization of this council is for its own good. This does not mean that it should be delayed for a very long time either. It must come at the "right" time.

To what extent do you believe in what newspapers print, and is there any censorship of Saudi newspapers?

There is no control over Saudi newspapers. The only censorship is performed by the newspaper's own editorial staff. Some say that the government has a different opinion. I say to those that this is an escape from one's responsibilities.

As for my faith in newspapers, it is boundless because they carry the torch of enlightenment.

Are there any general issues that matter to you and worry you?

Firstly, the chaotic situation in the Arab world today.

Secondly, the Palestinian problem with all its complexities.

Thirdly, the persistence of certain issues until it drives you to tears.

If you held a newspaper that was published a year ago you would find yourself reading the same headlines and statements with only slight variations.

Your frankness is such as to provoke scores of questions. Can I ask whether you, a Saudi prince with a say in Arab affairs, think the root of the problem lies in an absence of dialogue, or whether you think that intentions are not sincere?

I think that the proper dialogue is lacking. If there were good intentions among all parties, it would have been possible to reach some result. I don't accuse anyone by saying intentions aren't good. But I think that if they were, the politicians and intellectuals or the Arab community as a whole could have reached a clear and definite concept — not

necessarily applicable today or tomorrow, but as a signpost towards the future. The important thing is having good intentions and setting specific goals.

Is there a correct understanding abroad of the Saudi reality, a reality which is growing and changing and which has been distorted by hostile media?

A correct understanding is lacking, certainly. But who is to blame for that? Foreign countries, perhaps, or those who are displeased . . . map of the Arab world? Perhaps. But we have overcome obscurity and moved from the founding to the present constructive stage.

What is the place of the Saudi woman in the building of the nation? Will she remain hidden behind a veil?

This is a reality to which Saudi society has adjusted and which it has accepted. Development is accomplished with time. We don't have to struggle to change reality.

For example, 15 years ago a passport issued to a Saudi woman did not contain her photograph. But subsequently it became clear that the inclusion of the photograph was essential for the security and welfare of the country. The requirements of the country and the century called for it. This is the logic of development.

The example of the photo is only one example of the evidence on the possibility of development. I might also mention the education of women. In the past it was forbidden to give girls an education. Now there are Saudi women with doctorates.

This leads me to mention a most important — perhaps the most important — social question in Saudi Arabia, which is that of the dowry. In my view, the size of dowries has grown excessively large. Every reasonable person in the country, and in particular King Fahd, wants to limit the amount of money spent on weddings, which is often excessive. There should be a reasonable limit to such things.

You ask how I have armed my sons. I say, with faith in God and with knowledge. We are trying to increase their knowledge because this century is one in which a sound education is essential. I may recall that the Frankfurt book exhibition has a motto: "The well-read man is unconquerable."

Many people in Saudi Arabia call you a charismatic man. How do you see the quality of leadership?

Decisions must be carefully taken, and taken in consultation with others. No one is infallible. If mistakes are unintentional, if wrong courses of action are taken unintentionally, no one is blameworthy. But if they are taken as the result of personal deliberation and intention, then exception must be taken to them. We are in an age which cannot tolerate rash decisions. Science has become multifaceted, the scope of life has expanded, which means that decisions should be studied from every aspect.

Do you view life through your mind or your conscience?

I view it through my conscience.

Does your mind rule your heart?

On the contrary — my heart rules my mind.

What is the chief shortcoming of the Saudi citizen?

It is the fact that they look to the government for everything. This is of course not true of all Saudis.

How do you react to failure?

Failure is of two types. If it comes after hard work, it should be regarded as an incentive for success. But if it comes after negligence, naturally a person would feel bitterness.

How do you «read» people?

Through their eyes.

Does the voice lie?

It can deceive a great deal.

What did your experience as deputy minister of defense teach you?

It taught me to do all in my power to overcome the deadening effect of routine, or what Churchill called «the cancer of bureaucracy». Moreover, it gave me a sense of responsibility.

If you had your life to do over again, would you choose the same path?

Perhaps not. Experience teaches much, and it would be foolish not to take advantage of it.

What about the Lebanese crisis?

The Lebanese crisis is a wound in the hearts of all Arabs, and a new Arab initiative is necessary to hasten its recuperation, on condition that it is accompanied by a strong Lebanese will to forsake the past and try to reach an understanding based on strong foundations. This understanding will then surmount all selfish barriers and consolidate the ideal image that Lebanon deserves as a democratic and modern country where all sects live in peace with a greater sense of national unity.

What about the attack on Libya?

Of course no Arab, nor any human being, can condone this action. Violence, oppression and the law of the jungle cannot be the bases of cooperation between people or nations. The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia has said its piece on this subject and the stand it took was with the Arab Libyan people against any attack.

And the price of oil? Why has it fallen?

Playing around with oil prices is not an innocent thing. It is a battle of revenge against the Arabs because they used this weapon to serve their causes. The accusations made against Saudi Arabia only show a side of the oil price conspiracy that is passing through a hysterical stage the world has never seen the likes of. It is necessary to repeat that we will not be blackmailed. ●

SAUDI ARABIA

DEPUTY INTERIOR MINISTER INTERVIEWED

Beirut MONDAY MORNING in English 12-18 May 86 pp 49-51

[Interview with Prince Ahmad ibn 'Abd-al-'Aziz]

[Text]

The acting Saudi minister of the Interior, Prince Ahmad bin Abdelaziz, recently received an interviewer from Beirut's Dar Al Layla wa Layla publishing house for a discussion of topics touching security conditions in the Kingdom.

Prince Ahmad normally serves as deputy minister, being second in command after his brother, Interior Minister Prince Nayef bin Abdelaziz. It was during the latter's absence that Prince Ahmad was serving as acting minister.

In a world where violence and mayhem seem to be the order of the day, Saudi Arabia remains an oasis of calm. The Kingdom's security situation, the prince said, "is one of remarkable harmony and tranquillity. We have no agitations, no factional or fanatical movements or currents to jeopardize security, and we have no political prisoners. This is something in which we may take a quiet pride."

Another source of reassurance for the Kingdom was its cooperation with its fellow-members of the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC), "which has created great confidence, ease of mind, and a good basis to build upon. And it has undoubtedly provided greater security for all the Gulf states," the prince said.

The full translation of the interview, which was conducted in Arabic:

The Gulf Security Pact is on its way to implementation.

The Saudi authorities have taken great care to provide members of the security forces and the armed forces with a good standard of living. I take it this is the result of a deliberate policy decision.

The Kingdom's policy is to satisfy everyone equally. Giving the members of these two groups — the armed forces and the security forces — a good standard of living is a means of ensuring that their material worries are reduced to a minimum so they can devote all their energies to the defense of their country and its society. By thus providing for our armed forces and police, we are in fact benefitting society as a whole.

For example, we recently completed six thousand residential units — making up a complete and self-sufficient city — for members of the National Guard (the army) something which cost the government six billion riyals. This is an example of the authorities efforts for the sake of the citizens.

Such things are the right of all Saudi people. But because these particular groups serve the nation in especially difficult and potentially hazardous conditions, we have thought it right to give them special attention, especially in view of the fact that they do not usually come from affluent backgrounds.

The Interior Ministry has built other housing projects in Tabouk and Shroua which include hundreds of dwellings for members of the security forces. In Arar another such project has been completed and in Jeddah more than 1,200 residential units have been built for security personnel at a cost of 1,000 million riyals.

Cooperation among the Gulf states has yielded great results.

You have, I believe, computerized the administrative work of the Interior Ministry...

We have one of the most advanced computer systems in the world at the ministry, and the largest in the Middle East devoted to security purposes. The most important thing is that this system is operated wholly by Saudis, even at the maintenance level. The workers, technicians and managers are all Saudis. They include a number of university-educated men who studied abroad and obtained master's degrees and doctorates. It is on them that we can rely to operate the computer, and the fact that we can rely on them is a good sign of development. We also have a number of senior police officers with doctorates.

How would you compare the Saudi security officer with his European counterpart?

The Saudi is, I think, superior in his ability to work patiently for a long time, and to do so in conditions which are often rather spartan. He does not require a comfortable physical environment which the Westerner regards as his right. He

is also more adaptable: it is easier for a Saudi to adapt himself to European surroundings than vice-versa.

On the other hand, the European has an advantage in being better-educated.

How do you see the Kingdom's security situation?

It is, thank God, one of remarkable harmony and tranquillity. We have no agitation, no factional or fanatical movements or currents to jeopardize security, and we have no political prisoners. The Kingdom is one of the very few countries where there are no movements of dubious character. Sometimes a Saudi or two, a foreigner or two, may break the law in one way or another, but there are no troubles and no political prisoners. This is something in which we may take a quiet pride.

Have those responsible for the explosion in Riyadh a year ago been captured?

No, because the reasons behind the explosion have not yet been ascertained. The explosive material was thrown into a rubbish bin, and it may be that it underwent a reaction with some kind of inflammable object there and exploded. Or it might have been a stick of dynamite or other explosive disposed of by someone without any malicious intent. The nature of the explosive charge has not been determined, and the matter is still being investigated.

Two weeks ago a robbery occurred in Riyadh, during which there was shooting. Have the thieves been captured?

We hope to capture them soon. The incident took place while bags containing the sum of the deposits of a branch bank were being delivered to the main bank — a total of 2,500,000 riyals. While the employees were carrying the bags into the bank, two men attacked them. One was armed with a pistol and he fired some shots in the air. Then the two of them grabbed some bags and made off in a small Toyota pickup truck waiting for them. A bank employee was slightly injured. Other employees and passers-by gave chase, but the pair were able to make good their escape. It seems to have been a well-planned operation.

We found the pickup and hope to capture the thieves. This sort of thing can happen anywhere, and precautions have been taken to keep it from recurring.

It is said one of the robbers was a member of the security forces.

No, I don't think so. That's just an ill-founded rumor.

Have any other such incidents happened recently in the Kingdom?

Quite frankly, I cannot recall any other such event offhand.

The ratio of crimes committed per head of population in the Kingdom is, you know, very low, one of the lowest in the world. Violent crimes such as robbery, rape, and murder are very rare indeed in Saudi Arabia.

Is there any truth to rumors that the Saudi authorities plan to deport large numbers of foreigners?

Each country tries to make use of the abilities of its own citizens and, so far as possible, to do without the services of foreigners. And I must say here that Saudi Arabia does not regard Arabs and Moslems as foreigners.

As for foreigners properly speaking, I can say that we are trying to reduce their numbers as much as possible, particularly of those whose contracts have expired and who have no further business here.

Obviously we cannot do without foreigners completely, any more than any other country. Wherever you go — in the U.S., USSR, Britain, France, etc. — you will always find foreigners doing work which no local can be found to do. We are limiting foreign labor «quantitatively», not «qualitatively».

It is true that because of economic circumstances, the number of job opportunities in the Kingdom is now less than it was until recently, and so some people from other Arab countries are leaving. But there is no policy or intention of sending Arabs away.

Has Saudi cooperation with the GCC brought about greater security for the Kingdom and its neighbors in the Gulf?

Yes, working with the GCC has created great confidence, ease of mind, and a good basis to build upon. And it has undoubtedly provided greater security for all the Gulf states.

Are there any territorial disputes between Saudi Arabia and its neighbors?

None of any importance, though there is an area where the Kingdom's borders march with those of Oman and South Yemen which has never been properly surveyed, so no one knows exactly where the borders run. Smuggling operations go on down there, and since all the three states have regulations they want to apply to stop them, it is very important that the frontiers should be delineated, so each of the three would know what area it was responsible for.

Has Kuwait signed the security treaty concluded among Arab Gulf states?

This treaty is a bilateral instrument concluded between Saudi Arabia and other Gulf countries which resulted from contacts among interior ministers of these states. Kuwait has not signed it.

If a citizen of Bahrain commits a crime in Saudi Arabia, the Kingdom, under the treaty, has the right to indict and try him. Kuwait had agreed in principle to the treaty but suggested that it be a multi-lateral treaty comprising all Gulf countries and not only a set of bilateral treaties. When the GCC met to discuss the issue Kuwait did not sign because it found it was unconstitutional to surrender a Kuwaiti citizen to another government. The issue is still unresolved. It is my opinion that it will soon be resolved.

Is the Kingdom willing to help in the fight against terrorism?

Thank God, Saudi Arabia has not had to face the threat of terrorism. Before fighting terrorism one must discover its reasons and establish justice by helping those who are fighting for the right of self-determination. Isn't occupying a country, persecuting its people and preventing them from attaining nationhood a form of terrorism? Before fighting terrorism one should define what it is. If it is without a just cause, then all countries must join in the fight.

Is there coordination and cooperation between the Kingdom and Interpol?

Yes, this coordination is strong and regular.

What about smuggling?

The wave of smuggling has abated following the measures taken by the security forces and customs officials.

How are you fighting drug abuse?

This is a serious issue. The dangers of drug use are growing daily. Drug distribution is a ploy by the enemies of the Arabs to corrupt Arab youth and their abilities. We are cooperating with everybody to exterminate this danger. ●

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CSO: 4400/175

PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF YEMEN

AGRICULTURAL COOPERATION WITH SOVIETS PRAISED

Aden 14 UKTUBAR in Arabic 3 Apr 86 p 1

[Article: "Secretary of the Council for Mutual Economic Cooperation (CEMA) Country's Participation in the Activities of the Permanent Committees of the Council"]

[Text] Comrade 'Ali Mansur Muhammad, charge d'affaires at our embassy in the Soviet Union, met yesterday with comrade Vyacheslav Sychev, secretary of the Council for Mutual Economic Cooperation (CEMA).

During the meeting, a presentation of the cooperative relations of our country with other member-countries of CEMA and particularly relations in the field of fishing and agriculture was made.

The comrade secretary of the council praised the participation of our country in certain activities of the permanent committees of the council, mentioning the possibility of broadening and deepening the activity and role of our country during the coming period and the developed bi- and multi-lateral relations between our country and other member-countries of CEMA.

The comrade charge d'affaires expressed his satisfaction with the relations existing between our country and the countries of the council, stressing that Democratic Yemen looks forward to making more relations permanent and to improving the forms of cooperation.

He mentioned the importance of the assistance of the countries in the council to our people in overcoming the effects of the failed coup attempt on January 13. He expressed the gratitude and appreciation of the party, government, and people of Democratic Yemen for this assistance.

The representative of our country to CEMA and a number of officials in the Secretariat of the council attended the meeting.

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CSO: 4404/320

PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF YEMEN

SUPREME PEOPLE'S COUNCIL ELECTION COMMITTEE FORMED

Aden 14 UKTUBAR in Arabic 7 Apr 86 p 4

[Article: "Decision Is Issued to Form a Supreme Committee for the Supreme People's Council and the Local People's Councils Elections"]

[Text] The Comrade Engineer Haydar Abu-Bakr al-'Attas, member of the political office and chairman of the supervisory agency of the Supreme People's Council issued a decision of the supervisory agency of the Supreme People's Council concerning the formation of the supreme committee for the Supreme People's Council and local People's Councils elections.

The first article of the decision provided for the formation of the supreme committee for the Supreme People's Council and local People's Councils elections in the following manner:

1. The chairman of the supervisory agency of the Supreme People's Council is to be chairman.
2. The vice-chairman of the supervisory agency of the Supreme People's Council is to be vice-chairman.
3. The secretary of the supervisory agency of the Supreme People's Council is a member and secretary to the committee.
4. The assistant prime minister and minister of the interior is a member.
5. The minister of finance is a member.
6. The minister of labor and the Waqf is a member.
7. The minister of culture and information is a member.
8. The director of the local authority administration is a member.
9. The director-general of the Secretariat of the Cabinet is a member.

10. The assistant secretary of the central committee for mass organization and the state apparatus is a member.
11. The secretaries of the party organizations in the provinces are members.
12. The secretary-general of the Union of Republican Worker Syndicates is a member.
13. The first secretary of the Yemeni Socialist Youth Union is a member.
14. The secretary of the Democratic Yemeni Farmers' Union is a member.
15. The chairman of the national leadership of the Popular Defense Committees Organization is a member.
16. The secretary-general of the Women's Union of Yemen is a member.

The second article provided that the supreme elections committee would undertake the administration of the elections process for the Supreme People's Council and the local people's councils in the provinces and to accomplish this, it would undertake the following:

- A. The formation of local elections committees in the provinces and the armed forces.
- B. Directing the local elections committees and supervising the progress of the activities of these committees to ensure that they abide by the constitution and electoral laws.
- C. Issuing special instructions for the execution of the electoral process in accordance with the electoral laws.
- D. Division of the republic into electoral districts by specifying their number and announcing this according to the provinces.
- E. Approval of the candidates and their number and confirmation of the decisions of the local elections committees for the distribution of the candidates among the electoral districts and announcing this.
- F. Working on the preparation of the printed material, equipment, and regulations relating to the process of ensuring that the elections are held in accordance with the law.
- G. Ensuring that the printed materials and the requirements of the local elections committees arrive in the provinces at the proper time.
- H. Making final decisions on complaints presented against any activity or procedure undertaken by the local elections committees and administrative agencies concerned with the electoral process that violates the electoral laws.
- I. Determination of the final results of the elections, confirming them, and announcing them in accordance with the law.

J. Presentation of the necessary proposals to the supervisory agency of the Supreme People's Council concerning the date of the elections.

One paragraph of the third article provided that:

A. The supreme elections committee meets periodically with the chairman or his representative and not less than half of the members in attendance. In addition, the committee may hold exceptional meetings.

Another paragraph provided that

B. the committee create a technical secretariat that would serve as its executive agency.

The fourth article provided that the technical secretariat be the daily executive agency of the supreme elections committee that would execute the decisions of the Supreme Committee and specifically undertake the following:

A. Ensuring that the course of voter registration proceeds correctly and follows the course of the process of preparing the voter lists.

B. Observation of the process of making the electoral districts, distributing the candidates, and presenting this to the supreme committee for its confirmation and approval.

C. Delivering the printed material, decisions, and the other requirements of the elections to the provinces.

D. Supervising the sorting and preparation of the final results of the electoral process and presenting them to the supreme committee for its approval and announcement.

E. Supervising all the technical and administrative activities that the process of preparing for elections requires in accordance with the law and the decisions of the supreme elections committee.

The fifth article provided for the cancellation of the decision of the supervisory agency of the Supreme People's Council No 188 of 1985 concerning the formation and duties of the supreme committee for the Supreme People's Council and local people's councils elections.

The sixth and seventh articles provided that this decision would go into effect on the date of its issuance and would be published in the official journal.

13292/9312

CSO: 4404/320

PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF YEMEN

CENTRAL COMMITTEE SECRETARY TOURS ABYAN PROVINCE

Aden 14 UKTUBAR in Arabic 8 Apr 86 p 1

[Article: "Salim Salih in His Inspection Visit of the Abyan Province: Emphasis on Doubling Efforts to Implement Agricultural Plans and Improving the Quality of Agricultural Production"]

[Text] Comrade Salim Salih Muhammad, assistant secretary-general of the Yemeni Socialist Party and secretary of the Central Committee, yesterday morning made an inspection visit of the Abyan Province, during which he was informed about the conditions in a number of agricultural and economic organizations and installations in the province. He visited the 7th of October Farm and Lenin Production Farm where he was informed of the progress of the production process and met with men and women workers and the managements of the two farms. During the meeting, Comrade Salim Salih saluted the efforts that the agricultural workers were making at the two farms for the sake of raising the level of agricultural production and improving its quality. He called on them to double their efforts to implement the agricultural plans and to preserve and maintain the public property.

He stressed the interest of the party and the state in the agricultural field and its place as one of the most important pillars of our national economy. The comrade assistant secretary-general and his companions also inaugurated the production headquarters and the new building of the local construction organization in the province and inspected its various departments.

Then Comrade Salim Salih and his companions made their way toward the Ba Tays region, inspected the al-Kawd-Ba Tays road, and had a meeting with officials and workers at the project during which he urged them to double their work in order to complete this vital and important project within its specified time.

The comrade assistant secretary-general chaired a meeting that included members of the secretariats of the Yemeni socialist party organization and the executive office of the local people's council in the province and dedicated the discussion to a number of issues relating to the economic sphere and the effects that the failed coup plot left in its wake. He discussed with them the conditions of the leasing station, the Delta Development Agency of Abyan, product prices, provisioning conditions in the province, and the progress in

the implementation of a number of economic projects linked to the improvement of the living conditions of the citizens of the province in electricity, water, roads, services, and health. Comrade Salim Salih Muhammad praised the efforts that the secretariats of the party organization and the executive office to rebuild what the failed coup plot had destroyed at the provincial level.

He called for the necessity of work for the sake of executing the vital and urgent economic and social programs and plans relating to the life of the citizens. On this trip he was accompanied by comrades Qasim 'Abdallah, member of the Central Committee and chairman of the Supreme Committee of Party Supervision, Muhammad Ahmad Solman, member of the Central Committee and minister of installations and housing, Dr 'Awad (Bamatraf), assistant minister of public health, and a number of staff members of the Secretariat of the Central Committee and the various ministries. To meet him at his arrival in the province were Comrades Husayn 'Awad 'Abd-(al-Qayrhi), secretary of the executive office of the local people's council.

13292/9312

CSO: 4404/320

AFGHANISTAN

LE MONDE VIEWS NAJIBULLAH REPLACEMENT OF KARMAL, USSR ROLE

USSR Pursuit of Interests Seen

Paris LE MONDE in French 6 May 86 p 1

[Text] The resignation of Babrak Karmal and his replacement at the head of the Afghan Communist Party by Najibullah provides a good indication of the USSR's determination to defend what it considers to be its interests in Afghanistan.

The intensification of operations conducted recently against the resistance testified to the Soviet refusal to give ground before a guerilla war which, although it has not won any decisive success, has continued to gain momentum for the last 6 months. As part of this policy, Karmal had come to represent a weak link, since he was no more successful in gaining acceptance within his own country than he was on the international scene.

What is known of Najibullah conveys the impression that he is a far more substantial individual whose experience at the head of the secret police makes him better able to control the situation more closely than his predecessor. On top of all that, if general opinion is to be believed, his loyalty to Moscow is above all suspicion.

Does that mean that the way is closed to the search for the "political solution" that Gorbachev says officially that he wants? Obviously the change of rule in Kabul and the restart in Geneva on Monday 5 May of indirect negotiations on the Afghan problem cannot be sheer coincidence. Diego Cordovez, the mediator appointed by the United Nations under whose auspices these conversations are taking place, was cautiously optimistic about them. For their part, the Pakistani negotiators do not deny that progress has in fact been made over the last few months, particularly concerning the international guarantees which might accompany a settlement.

Nevertheless, two major questions remain unresolved. First of all, the establishment of a timetable for the evacuation of the Soviet forces--which would theoretically depend on a bilateral agreement between Kabul and Moscow--correlated with a halt to foreign military aid (American and Pakistani) to the guerillas. Secondly, the nature of the future Afghan regime, since the integration of the resistance movements in a communist government is unthinkable.

If the Soviets have in mind the establishment of a regime with "expanded" political bases, i.e., of which the communists would only be one group, it is essential from their point of view that the Afghan communist party show itself to be the dominant party. Najibullah's promotion may correspond to this concern.

The fact remains that the background and reputation of this man hardly make of him a very encouraging partner for those who are engaged in a struggle against the Soviet military presence, and also against communism. Their leaders, however, lost no time in letting it be known that neither Karmal's departure nor a possible agreement between diplomats in Geneva--where they are not represented--will suffice to persuade them to give up the struggle.

Najibullah Profiled

Paris LE MONDE in French 6 May 86 p 3

[Article by Olivier Roy: "Babrak Karmal's Replacement Heads the Afghan Communist Party"]

[Text] On 4 May Babrak Karmal (57 years of age) was replaced at the head of the Afghan Communist Party in power, by Mohammed Najibullah, a 39 year old doctor, to this point the number three man in Kabul's pro-Soviet regime and the former head of the political police. Karmal offered his resignation "for health reasons" to the central committee of the Afghan Popular Democratic Party (PDPA, communist). Nevertheless, he will retain his duties as head of state and member of the party's political bureau.

Last Thursday, Karmal returned from a long private visit to the USSR. Officially, he went there for health reasons, but his absence last 27 April during the anniversary ceremonies of the revolution fed speculation concerning his political future. Especially since on that date PRAVDA had published criticisms of his regime, reproaching him particularly for being slow in introducing reforms.

In Moscow, the announcement of the replacement of Karmal by Najibullah, "a great friend of the Soviet Union," was quickly made by the TASS press agency.

In Washington, the State Department "attached no great importance" to this change. What matters, it was emphasized, is less the identity of the leaders as the presence of 120,000 Soviet soldiers in Afghanistan. For the time being, Peking is saying nothing.

It is believed, moreover, that the replacement of Karmal may be linked with the new start given to indirect Afghanistan-Pakistan negotiations this Monday in Geneva under the auspices of the United Nations.

Among the ranks of the resistance movement, any concession which may emerge from these discussions is rejected in advance. Finally, the first statements of the new strong man stressed the "reinforcement of the (Afghan) armed forces," and improving their fighting capability.

Doctor Najibullah has been the regime's rising star for several years. Trusted by the Soviets, he headed the sole government institution that proved itself to be effective, the political police (Khad: State Intelligence Service).

Born in 1947, Najibullah is a Pachtun from Logar province. His father, Akhtar Mohammad, managed the Afghan Transportation Office in Peshawar, in Pakistan. This seemingly innocent post was in fact that of the Afghan secret service: the man in charge of it was responsible to the Kabul government for contacts with the Pachtun tribes settled on the Pakistani side of the border. Since these tribes act more from the perspective of tribal rivalries than from that of ideological or nationalistic choices, the young Najibullah was in a very good school as far as his future activities were concerned. His two foreign languages are Urdu and English.

The Tribal Game

Najibullah did his secondary school studies at the modernistic Habibia school, where classes were conducted in English. He left it in 1964 to become a student in medical school. He was a member of the Communist Party (Afghan People's Democratic Party) from its creation on 1 January 1965. Between two stays in prison, he completed his medical studies and joined the party's central committee in 1977. This date is an important one, because it saw the reunion of the party's two groups, the Khalq and Partcham, in view of the April 1978 coup d'etat. The reunion was obviously desired by the USSR which nevertheless refrained from intervening directly. Najibullah was a member of the Partcham segment of the party. During the 27 April 1978 coup d'etat, he was a member of the revolutionary council, but did not hold any portfolio; on 28 June, he was appointed ambassador to Teheran, a premonitory sign of the disgrace, then the success which would affect all the important members of the Partcham between August and September 1978. He resigned from his position in September and disappeared, probably to the USSR, as did Babrak Karmal and the other members of the Partcham.

He resurfaced as a matter of course, with Babrak Karmal, following the Soviet invasion of 27 December 1979. He became the leader of the secret service, newly created on the model of the KGB. The main function of the Khad was to penetrate the resistance, see to the return of the border tribes (both on the Afghan and the Pakistani side), and in general to implement the policy of pacification.

Very quickly, the Khad became the most effective government organization. Najibullah learned the lessons of his Khalq predecessors' revolutionary activism. Very familiar with the tribes, he went back to the traditional system of pacification of which the English had become masters. Instead of promoting ideological subversion, local leaders were won over by using the mechanisms of traditional society: competition between clan leaders, bribery, the distribution of arms, and the exploitation of the tribes' desire for autonomy.

The border tribes are the priority objective of the pacification policy. By winning them over, they would kill two birds with a single stone; the Pakistani regime would be destabilized, and the supply lines of the resistance would be cut off. In this role, Najibullah has played cleverly on his origins.

Afghanistan, as a matter of fact, includes three large confederations of Pachtun tribes: the Dourranis in the west, the Ghilzai in the central east, and the Pachtuns in the east on the border with Pakistan. Najibullah, a Pachtun from the Logar, is a Ghilzai; his father maintained excellent relations with those in the east, and is himself married to a Dourrani of royal blood, which is enough for him to be accepted by the western confederation. In the nontribal areas of the north and west, where it is not so well entrenched, the Khad tries to stir up internal conflicts within the resistance by playing on the opposition between the young Islamic intellectuals and the traditional leaders. That was how Commandant Zabioullah de Mazar was assassinated, together with some 10 local chiefs in various areas.

Steady Rise

These successes, which contrasted with the incompetence of the government administration, made Najibullah the man of the future for the Soviets. As a matter of fact, although Babrak Karmal has given every assurance of loyalty, his reputation as a man who had followed in the wake of the Soviets, and one associated with the failures of the regime, has taken away all his credibility. The regime's number two man, Sultan Ali Kechtmand, has the irrevocable defect of being a Hazara Shi'ite, an ethnic group despised by the Pachtuns, who dominate political life. His appointment to the top position would have been taken as a real provocation by the Khalq party, which is still in the majority among the party's middle cadres, especially the military.

Thus Najibullah's career has been steadily rising. Head of the secret service, he is also a member of the Loyah Jirgah presidium (the Afghan supreme soviet, which is also a tool for winning over the local leaders), and president of state orphanages (like Derzhinsky in the USSR in the period of wartime communism, in 1918). In December 1985, he was promoted to be secretary of the central committee. He relinquished administration of the Khad, which became a state ministry run by his faithful assistant Yagoubi; but, in fact, he became the regime's number three man.

What is the significance of Najibullah's present appointment as head of the party. If he has overtaken Sultan Ali Kechtmand, it is not only because the latter was not acceptable to the Pachtuns. It is above all because Najibullah is the Soviets' man. He is the craftsman of a pacification program pursued apart from any ideology, aiming above all at effectiveness, and carried on in the midst of continuing Soviet military action. Professional, intelligent, and combative, even brutal, Najibullah is a technician. His pacification program is worked out on the level of the subgroups (clans, tribes, local leaders) but never implies any reference to an Afghan nation which might gather together opponents to Sovietization, including among the communists.

Karmal's Loss of Credibility Viewed

Paris LE MONDE in French 6 May 86 p 3

[Article by Olivier Roy: "Lost Credibility"]

[Text] Babrak Karmal (Babarak: little lion, a name given him by his family, and Karmal: friend of labor, a name of his choosing) is a typical communist intellectual from the great bourgeoisie which sided with the proletarian

As a student activist, he was arrested in 1953 but was placed in administrative positions on his release from prison in 1956. A secularist leftwing activist, his conversion to Marxism came late. In 1965 he was numbered among the founding members of the Afghan Popular Democratic Party, and was a deputy in the first democratically elected assembly.

Very quickly, his aristocratic tendencies placed him in opposition to the majority of the members of the PDPA [Afghan Popular Democratic Party], which was of more humble, tribal origin. In 1967, he founded the Partcham (the Flag) group, broke off from the Khalq majority, and advocated a policy of penetration of the upper administrative levels. This strategy, for which his group was dubbed "royal communist," proved to be an effective one: the Partchamis were active in President Daoud's coup d'etat in July 1973, and placed their men in key positions. However, because of this collaboration, the Partcham lost much of its prestige among grassroots activists. At the time of the 1978 communist coup d'etat, it found itself in the minority, despite the fact that leadership positions were distributed equally.

Aware of this weakness, Karmal was no doubt preparing another coup d'etat when he was dismissed and sent abroad as ambassador in August 1978 with the most important members of his party.

Recalled in September, he was careful not to return and disappeared (probably to the USSR). He returned in December 1979 in the train of the Soviet army after an appeal was broadcast, probably from Tashkent. On becoming president of the revolutionary council, member of the political bureau and secretary general of the party, he placed his family and loyal followers in ruling positions; his half brother, Mahmoud Baryalay, was an acting member of the political bureau and secretary of the central committee, his son-in-law Razemjou was also an acting member of the political bureau, and his mistress Anahita Ratebzad was a member.

Although he inaugurated his reign on a more realistic and reformist basis than his Khalq predecessors (Karmal recognized Islam as the official religion, moderated the agricultural reform, and launched a tribal policy), he so adhered to Soviet policy that he lost all credibility (thus, for example, the release of journalist Jacques Abouchar was announced from Moscow) without for all that being able to win over those sectors prepared to compromise (the traditional local leaders and small urban bourgeoisie). A certain personality cult developed in the media. It stopped abruptly in March 1986. Nevertheless, uncertainty remains concerning the reasons for his downfall. He is probably really ill, but the announcement of his replacement just before the seventh round of negotiations in Geneva has political significance: it is less his elimination that poses a problem as the personality of the man who is replacing him.

9824

CSO: 4619/37

AFGHANISTAN

KARMAL SUCCESSOR PICKED UNDER SIEGE OF SOVIET TANKS

Tehran TEHRAN TIMES in English 7 May 86 p 1

[Text]

ISLAMABAD (Reuter)—Soviet tanks surrounded key government buildings, blocked off Afghan Army barracks and trained their cannons on Kabul from surrounding hills during a three-day meeting to pick a new Communist Party leader last weekend, Western diplomats said yesterday.

The diplomats, quoting reports from Kabul, said several demonstrations by women and youths supporting Babrak Karmal, who officially resigned for health reasons, were broken up by security police during and after the meeting attended by Moscow's ambassador.

The tense Central Committee session chose Former Security Chief General Najibulla, 39, as new party leader on the eve of renewed Afghan peace talks in Geneva.

Zahoor Razemjo, Kabul party boss and politburo member, was reported to have been beaten up by Karmal supporters when he ordered posters of the former leader, who remained president, to be torn down, the diplomats said.

They said most Afghan troops manning extensive road

blocks in the city center were unarmed, apparently to stem any possible revolt. The Interior Ministry, led by Najibullah's rival, General Sayed Mohammad Gulabzoi, was ringed by Soviet tanks.

The diplomats said secret police broke up a women's protest near the presidential palace on the morning of May 2, at the beginning of the meeting in the heavily-guarded complex which also houses the Central Committee building.

They said it may have been organized by Anahita Ratebzad, a politburo member, head of the women's organization and friend of Karmal who lives near the palace.

Soviet paratroopers also took up positions around the Soviet housing project in Mkrorayon, the Russians' hospital in Shar-i-Nau and Moscow's sprawling embassy in western Kabul, they said.

The diplomats reported secret police beat up girls Monday morning as they staged another pro-Karmal protest at the prestigious Istiqlal Lycee near the Central Committee building.

The diplomats said it appeared Karmal, who return-

ed to Kabul on May 1 after a mysterious one-month medical check-up in Moscow, was not present at the session that decided his fate.

Moscow airlifted the first of its 115,000 troops to Kabul in December 1979 to install Karmal in power and help fight Moslem guerillas rebelling against the April 1978 Communist coup.

But Soviet media have criticized him in recent months for failing to introduce needed reforms, prompting speculation he was out of favor with new Kremlin leader Mikhail Gorbachev.

The diplomats said Kabul has had no newspapers since last Thursday and telex and telephone lines out of the country were said to be out of order.

State-run television did not show Karmal's return and its failure to report on the obviously crucial meeting sparked rumors the president had died.

The radio, whose headquarters was also guarded by Soviet troops, used announcers speaking the distinctive Persian of Soviet Tajikistan at least once last weekend, Afghans listening to the radio in neighboring Pakistan reported.

The teeming Pol-i-Khishti Bazaar, the closest to the encircled palace area, was shut down on Friday and Saturday.

/12828

CSO: 4600/325

AFGHANISTAN

MUJAHIDIN REPORTEDLY HOLD OUT IN KANDAHAR

Tehran TEHRAN TIMES in English 1 May 86 p 1

[Text]

ISLAMABAD (Reuter) — Soviet and Afghan forces besieging the southern Afghan city of Kandahar are bulldozing suburban houses and orchards to create a security belt round the city, according to Moslem guerilla commanders.

The siege, a daily barrage of bombs and artillery combined with street fighting inside the encircled city, has entered its third week with no end in sight, they said in letters received in the Pakistani city of Quetta Tuesday night.

The commanders reported guerilla gunners had shot down six MiG fighter jets and two helicopters but did not say when.

Western diplomats here believe the guerillas brought down at least 12 Soviet helicopters and planes early in the siege as Soviet pilots bombed the city indiscriminately. They had no information on later fighting.

The Communists have set up 37 military posts of at least 15 soldiers each in the mined no-man's land southeast of the city. But Afghan troops in 14

of them have already defected or surrendered to guerilla forces, the commanders added.

They have now begun tearing through villages to the northwest of Kandahar, Afghanistan's second largest city, to build the next section of the security ring there, they said.

Guerilla morale was high despite heavy casualties in their ranks and among civilians who ignored warnings early this month to evacuate the battered city the diplomats, quoting reports from Kabul, said.

The siege began 15 days ago when Soviet and Afghan troops surrounded the walled old city and attacked guerilla who control most of its narrow-alley bazaars.

The fighting later spread to Shar-i-Nau (New City) and outlying districts of Kandahar.

The commanders claimed guerillas were destroying up to 10 armoured vehicles a day but the Communist attack, the toughest they had ever seen in Kandahar, continued unabated.

The commanders reported

heavy guerilla and civilian casualties but gave no figures. One group said it lost 38 men in a day.

Travellers from Kandahar said on April 20 about 170 guerillas had been killed in the first five days of fighting.

Soviet and Afghan forces have since tightened patrols along the 60-mile (100-km) road to the border, forcing wounded to take detours of up to four days to reach clinics and hospitals for them in Pakistan.

The commanders estimated communist troop strength at 15,000 while they said they had over 5,000 men fighting inside the city and attacking the Soviet and Afghan security belt from outside. The guerillas on the outside broke through the initial siege on April 20 to resupply men in the city, they added.

The diplomats said Afghanistan's Bakhtar Airlines resumed flights from Kabul to Kandahar last Thursday after a two-week break in service due to the fighting.

/12828

CSO: 4600/326

AFGHANISTAN

MUJAHIDIN VOW TO FIGHT DESPITE PEACE DEAL

Tehran TEHRAN TIMES in English 5 May 86 pp 1, 3

[Text] ISLAMABAD (Reuter)— The main alliance of Afghan Moslem guerillas vowed yesterday to continue fighting despite any peace deal Pakistan and Kabul's Communist government might reach in United Nations-sponsored talks resuming in Geneva today.

Alliance Spokesman Barhanuddin Rabbani rejected the main points of the peace settlement, especially a phased withdrawal of Soviet troops and guarantees that the seven-year insurgency would end. He said only Afghans could decide their country's fate.

His rejection of the proposed deal appeared to put the Islamic alliance of Afghan Mujahideen (Moslem warriors) or a collision course with its main backer, Pakistan.

The Pakistani and Afghan foreign ministers are due to discuss the heart of their four-year negotiations — a phased Soviet pullout — over the next two weeks in Geneva.

Rabbani, head of the Jami-at-I-Islami guerilla group, did not criticize Islamabad openly or say there were differences between Pakistan and the seven-party alliance.

'We will not lay down our weapons until the last Soviet soldier has left Afghanistan,' Rabbani told reporters.

"A political solution without a representative of the people of Afghanistan (the Mujahideen) will not be acceptable and will be rejected," he said.

Pakistan's Foreign Minister Sahabzada Yaqub Khan said before leaving for Geneva yesterday that the next round of the four-year talks would be crucial for peace in Afghanistan.

He said recent progress gave him hope that outstanding problems could be solved.

Since the last round of indirect talks in December, Kabul has submitted a draft troop withdrawal timetable and agreed to continue negotiating through UN Mediator Diego Cordovez because Islamabad does not recognize the Kabul government.

Cordovez, who has led the talks since 1982, says this should be the last round but Pakistani officials foresee a face-saving 'adjournment' pushing them further into the future.

Rabbani said the alliance rejected the settlement's plan to have Moscow and Washington guarantee that 'outside interference' — US, Chinese and Islamic arms and aid to the guerillas — ends.

When reporters said Pakistan had agreed to this, he said Islamabad knew the alliance's position and was sure it would not make any agreements harmful to the interests of both the Afghan and Pakistani people.

Rabbani added that the alliance demanded full compensation for all lives and material lost as a result of Moscow's 1979 military intervention in Afghanistan.

/12828
CSO: 4600/329

AFGHANISTAN

NUMBER OF CIVILIAN CASUALTIES ESTIMATED AT ONE MILLION

Tehran TEHRAN TIMES in English 7 May 86 p 1

[Text]

ZURICH (Reuter) — An Afghan rebel commander was yesterday quoted as saying one million people had died in Afghanistan since 1979, with casualties of invading Soviet forces probably double the 10,000 to 15,000 estimated by the United States.

Abdul Haq, quoted in the Zurich daily Tages Anzeiger newspaper, said; "It is difficult to give the exact number because the war in Afghanistan does not take place on a front like the Iran-Iraq war.

"But since 1979 it seems at least a million have died in Afghanistan."

Haq's remarks appeared in an article based on a recent interview in Peshawar. They come after U.N.-sponsored talks resumed in Geneva Monday between Afghanistan and Pakistan in a bid to secure

withdrawal of an estimated 115,000 Soviet troops.

Haq, who said he leads 5,000 to 6,000 Mujahideen rebels in the Kabul area, argued U.S. estimates of Soviet casualties had been based only on those soldiers flown back to the Soviet Union.

Exact figures were hard to calculate, but he said: "Another 20,000 Soviet soldiers would have been burned to death in the tanks which have been destroyed, planes and helicopters shot down and in the trucks which have been completely burnt out."

Haq said losses in his own rebel group had been 700, but added: "... the number of dead in the civilian population in my area is estimated at around 10 times losses by the Mujahideen".

/12828
CSO: 4600/328

AFGHANISTAN

'VANISHED' OFFICIALS SAID STILL IN PRISON

Tehran TEHRAN TIMES in English 8 May 86 p 1

[Text]

ISLAMABAD (Reuter)— At least six cabinet ministers who vanished during the 1979 Soviet intervention in Afghanistan are languishing in Kabul's Pul-I-Charkhi Prison, a Moslem guerilla commander said yesterday.

The ministers, all Communists arrested during the coup which brought Babrak Karmal to power, are serving long jail terms after their original death sentences were commuted, said Lala Malang, who spent 19 months in the prison.

Former Secret Police Chief Najibullah replaced Karmal last weekend after a tense three-day Communist Party meeting guarded by Soviet tanks and attended by Moscow's ambassador.

Malang, who was released last February in a rare swap for a Soviet soldier held by Afghan guerillas, told reporters he had seen all six men and spoken to some in the large cells they shared with death row prisoners in Pul-I-Charkhi.

He named seven other jailed men who held high posts in ministries, the military or as provincial governors between the April 1978 coup and the Soviet arrival in Dec. 1979.

Like most senior officials from that period, the ministers' whereabouts was unknown after Moscow sent in the first of its 115,000 strong force to install Karmal and fight the Moslem guerillas.

Malang, who recently arrived in Pakistan for medical treatment, said 130 of the 200 men in his cell were led away for execution while he was in the star-shaped prison in northeastern Kabul.

He said jailed Afghan army officers told him when he arrived in June 1984 that 300 prisoners had just been executed by firing squads near the prison.

The ministers, who all belonged to the Khalq Party faction opposed to the Parcham group of Karmal and Najibullah, are now serving commuted sentences of

between 15 to 20 years he said.

He named the ministers as Akbar Shah Wali (foreign affairs), Abdul Hakim Sharayee Jauzjani (justice), Mohammad Mansour Hashemi (water and power), Mahmud Alamgul Suma (higher education), Khayal Mohammad Katawazi (information and culture) and Faqir Mohammad Faqir (interior).

Malang, who was sentenced to death but released after elders from his native Kandahar asked Karmal to pardon him, said he was once brought to Najibullah's office for questioning but was interrogated by his deputy instead.

He said he was probably released because Politburo member Nur Ahmad Nur, a fellow Kandahari whom the elders had also approached, took on his case as a way to win some support.

Just before his release, Nur offered him a high government job if he renounced his guerilla past but he refused.

/12828
CSO: 4600/327

BANGLADESH

PANEL APPROVES REVISED ANNUAL DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 6 May 86 pp 1, 8

[Text] The National Economic Council (NEC) approved the revised Annual Development Programme (ADP) of Taka 4095 crore and 54 lakh for the current financial year (1985-86) when the council met at the CMLA Secretariat in Dhaka on Monday evening, reports BSS.

President Hussain Mohammad Ershad presided over the meeting

According to a PID handout, the revised ADP approved by the NEC comprises Taka 1911 crore 73 lakh in local currency and Taka 2183 crore and 81 lakh as project aid which includes Taka 633 crore and 86 lakh as reimbursable project aid.

A total of 286 foreign aided projects have been included in the revised ADP for 1985-86. A total of Taka 2881 crore and 40 lakh including project aid of Taka 2004 crore and 17 lakh are allocated against these projects which is 90.58 per cent of the sector-wise allocation and 70.35 per cent of total allocation.

It should be noted that a total of 637 projects were included in the main annual development programmes of the current year under major programmes of various sectors. The total number of projects stand at 671 in the revised ADP. Total number of projects stand at 816 instead of 761 following the increase of technical assistance projects from 93 to 108 and self financed projects of various sectors from 31 to 37.

This year 225 projects have been identified as "core" projects--which is 72.92 per cent of sector-wise allocation of the revised programme and 56.64 per cent of the total revised programme. But the allocation for "core" projects in the revised programme is 68.45 per cent including lump sum allocation of Taka 225 crore for zila and upazila infrastructure, Taka 200 crore for Upazila Parishad development assistance, Taka 47 crore for special development of Chittagong Hill Tracts and Taka 12 crores for pourashavas.

Speaking briefly on the occasion the President stressed the need of formulating and implementing development-oriented projects quickly.

He urged to initiate development projects in the communicationss section for connecting the upazila and district headquarters and to take steps for their implementation.

He advised them to formulate the development-oriented projects taking into consideration the present perspective of the country.

The meeting was attended by the DCMLA's members of the Council of Ministers, Finance Adviser, Governor. Bangladesh Bank, PSO to the CMLA, Secretaries to the Government and high military and civil officials

/13104

CSO: 4600/1743

BANGLADESH

BRIEFS

BORDER SHOOTING INCIDENT—Three persons including one Bangladesh Rifles (BDR) personnel were injured when Indian border security forces (BSF) men opened fire on them at Kalachhara near Bishnupur Border outpost (BOP) of Brahmanbaria Sadar Upazila this morning. The BDR Sepoy Monwar Hossain received bullet injuries and was removed to Brahmanbaria Sadar Hospital. Two other injured villagers are Shafiuddin and Abdur Rashid. The incident occurred when a group of people from village Bhagarpur of Tripura backed by BSF entered the village Kalachhara and allegedly started campaigning in favour of Awami League candidate for the parliamentary election. A large number of villagers who gathered there resisted them which infuriated the BSF men who attacked them by opening fire. A tense situation was prevailing in the area following the incident. The UZ Chairman and UNO visited the spot. A Jativa Party candidate for the Parliamentary election Mr. Liaqat Ali from Kasba who visited Brahmanbarai on the day also reported that Indian citizens entered into his constituency on the day to campaign in favour of boat the election symbol of Awami League. [Text] [Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 6 May 86 p 1] /13104

CSO: 4600/1744

IRAN

TEHRAN COMMENTS ON NEW IRAQI WAR STRATEGY

GF291014 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 0430 GMT 29 May 86

[Commentary by the Central News Unit research group: "Iraq's War Strategy After the Defeat at Al-Faw"]

[Excerpts] More than 3-1/2 months have passed since the victory of the "Val-Fajr-8" operations and the liberation of Al Faw port city by the forces of the Islamic Republic. During this period the war fronts have witnessed various developments. To understand the reasons behind these developments one must consider their connection with the taking of Al-Faw. To this end we will take another look at the politico-economic-military dimensions of the taking of Al-Faw.

The only link between Iraq and the free waters of the world is through the waterways which pour into the extreme northwest corner of the Persian Gulf. The two important waterways of Khawr-'Abdullah and the Arvand River, which in turn are a joining of Karun River and the Shatt al-'Arab waterway, are Iraq's water links with the Persian Gulf. The important port of Basra is along the western shores of the Arvand River, and Umm al-Qasr is at the end of Khawr-'Abdullah.

The important thing here is that Al-Faw is the point where these two bodies of water meet and in reality is the bottleneck for the ports mentioned. To control this means control over the Iraqi connecting lines with all the free waters of the world.

The port of Basra, which is considered to be Iraq's biggest port and which until the victory at Khorramshahr was active, according to figures, in 1975--5 years before the imposed war--handled 687 ships and the total extent of exports and imports from this port in this same year reached above 5 million tons.

The port of Umm al-Qasr which is the second port city of Iraq in 1975 handled 141 ships and a total of half a million tons of exports and imports.

The "Val-Fajr-8" operations were very important because as far as economics were concerned, they cut off Iraq's water links and put these under the

control of the Islamic Republic. It is important to note that although some of the sites mentioned were rendered useless even before by the warriors of Islam, the important thing which also has strategic value is the total control of the Islamic Republic over Iraq's main connecting arteries in the Persian Gulf and naturally its future result over the developments of the imposed war.

In any case, at present the heavy load of Iraq's imports and exports, considering their present limitations with regard to land routes, have created special economic problems for the Iraqi regime.

On the political arena, the victory at Al-Faw had even more profound results. With this victory the Islamic Republic took the most important point in the enemy's territory since the Jerusalem operations. The devastating moral defeat over the Iraqi troops and their morale-raising effects on the people of Iran, shown by the wave of their presence on the fronts since the start of the new year which has come about as a result of this victory, could be considered as the other achievements of the victory at Al-Faw.

In addition, the direct result of this onpolitical developments in the Persian Gulf has caused some concern about the supporters of Saddam. With regard to the issues mentioned, the Iraqi Armed Forces, from the start of the victory at Al-Faw, started heavy counter-offensives, giving false promises by its military commanders concerning the taking back of Al-Faw in 3 days, which cost a great deal of military and political investments.

Following the ineffectiveness of this investment and following a great deal of casualties and loss of equipment, the enemy started a new strategy on the fronts by staging a new wave of military attacks on the ground. Following this, on several fronts like Faqqeh, Hajj 'Umran and Mehran, it staged attacks and moved forward a little. These attacks, which were staged more than 1 month ago, have gained nothing for Iraq except to bear more casualties and disgraceful retreats. In some areas like Faqqeh, the Islamic Republic's forces following the pushing back of the enemy took new territory inside Iraq.

All these things show the importance of the defeat suffered by the Iraqis in Al-Faw. It also shows the importance of the victory achieved by the Islamic warriors in this same area. In addition, the comments made by some Iraqi officials show the same thing, because following the taking of some border areas inside Iran, they linked a retreat from these areas to an Iranian pull-out from the Al-Faw Peninsula.

To sum up the general situation of both sides of the war, meaning the aggressive army of Iraq and the forces of the Islamic Republic, any movement by the enemy will not have results; instead, it will have repeated defeats.

/6662

CSO: 4640/329

IRAN

PAPER DISCUSSES LIBYA RAID BY U.S. 'TERRORIST ARMY BOMBERS'

Tehran ETTELA'AT in Persian 15 Apr 86 p 15

[Text] Foreign Service--American "terrorist" military fighter planes last night aggressively attacked three points located deep inside Libyan territory and bombed the centers of two cities, Tripoli and Benghazi, with resulting damages, including damage to the French Embassy in Tripoli and savage injury to a number of people during the bombing.

This military action by the U.S. against the revolutionary country of Libya is in keeping with the essentially terrorist nature of the U.S. Government and was coordinated with twelve European member countries of the European Common Market and with the rest of the friends and comrades of American imperialism in other parts of the world. At its closing session yesterday, the members of the European Common Market unanimously condemned the revolutionary country of Libya for participating in so-called terrorist operations against the interests of American imperialism in various parts of the world, placed an arms embargo on Libya, and set up obstacles to the travel by Libyan citizens to European countries. Meanwhile, the Security Council during its sessions yesterday manifested no decisive reaction whatsoever to serious U.S. threats against Libya in the Mediterranean Sea, and thus the U.S. Government had ample grounds for carrying out a military attack against the government and people of Libya.

Reference to this cooperation was made by [Secretary of State] Shultz during a press conference after the aggressive air attack by the U.S. military fighter planes on Libyan territory and in the two-hour speech by Ronald Reagan, the U.S. President on U.S. radio and T.V. He even said: "During the air operations against Libyan positions, the Soviet Union was kept informed of all our movements."

On the other hand, Tripoli Radio, whose broadcast was heard in Tunis, announced that three of the eighteen U.S. fighter planes which had violated Libya's airspace were targeted by air defense batteries and shot down, and that the airmen in these three planes were killed. Libya has vowed to take revenge against all U.S. bases all over the Mediterranean.

Libyan Radio has also called on all pilots of Arab countries to assist Libya in attacking U.S. interests throughout the Mediterranean.

Thus, the clash between the U.S. and Libya, which must be considered a conflict between world arrogance and freedom loving people of the world, has deepened.

George Shultz, the Secretary of State of Reagan's terrorist government, at a news conference this morning called the attack on Libyan territory an act of self-defense and a preventive measure against future so-called terrorist operations, and he added: "The U.S. attack against Libya in and of itself sets a good precedent for the future and is an example which makes clear that the U.S. will take military action against countries like Libya wherever it wishes and whenever it deems such action appropriate.

He mentioned the possibility of other attacks against targets other than Libya.

What is quite certain is that the U.S. Government, by this aggressive action, has lit the fuze on a warehouse filled with dynamite.

The experience of history has shown that whenever imperialism comes directly up against a peoples' movement, it has always suffered a humiliating defeat.

Vietnam is a true and clear witness to history, and Lebanon a clear example of retaliation against imperialist forces where we recently witnessed the expulsion of French marines from that country. The military attack against Libya, the first steps for which were put together in the Gulf of Sidra in the last few weeks, proved sterile. Not only has it been accompanied by a reaction from the rising revolutionary people, but it will serve to make the unity and association of these forces effective.

In these past several weeks since the U.S. aggression in the Gulf of Sidra against the naval interests of Libya, the people of the world, in expressions of their solidarity and identification with the Libyan leader and people, have shown to what extent they are prepared to confront the serious threats from the U.S. Undoubtedly, the recent U.S. aggression inside Libyan territory will increase the readiness and revolutionary ability of the people. But what is very important in all this, is the reaction of the Arab countries. These Arab regimes have been presented with a major test. An Arab country has been the victim of open U.S. aggression, and the U.S. Government with total impudence is yelling out that the U.S. will not fail to strike anywhere it wishes whenever it deems it suitable with military action at any part of the world. And in this way it is endeavoring to intimidate all the countries of the Third World. The Arab governments must recognize their own situation and, apart from any differences they may have amongst themselves, state that they will decisively support countries oppressed by the U.S., and while condemning the U.S. aggressive actions, take action in the political, military, and economic sphere against the U.S. and its European helpers and friends crystallized in the European Common Market.

It is clear that any reaction by the Arab regimes to this aggressive U.S. act against the country and peoples' government of Libya, will become known in the course of time.

At the present time world imperialism has subjected the oppressed people of the world to serious threat and action, especially the Arab countries, and throughout the Arab world.

Palestine for years has been in the clutches of bloodsucking zionism, the Persian Gulf area is an arena of invasion by U.S. warships, Lebanon is writhing in the clutches of imperialist plots, and for some years revolutionary Iran has been struggling in a deceitful imposed war. Thus, a proper historic course demands that the Arab governments, with regard to this terrorist act by the U.S. Government against Libya, manifest a suitable and appropriate reaction worthy of praise by the true Arab community. Because the Secretary of State of the military U.S. Government has mentioned the possibility that the next target of the Americans will be one of the other Arab countries.

In any case, the U.S. aggression against Libya will not only not decrease the intense popular anti-imperialist movements rising up in the world, but rather, their solidarity and friendship will be more effective than ever before. Without a doubt, only through one comprehensive sphere of operations--military, economic, and cultural can the arrogance of the world be brought down on its knees.

13041/12828

CSO: 4640/268

IRAN

REASONS BEHIND BUSH-SADDAM MEETING DISCUSSED

GF111856 Tehran International Service in Arabic 1430 GMT 11 May

[From the "Political Follow-ups" program]

[Text] It has been revealed that a secret meeting took place between an Iraqi delegation led by Saddam Husayn, and George Bush during the latter's visit to Saudi Arabia.

The media sources which carried the news of this meeting affirmed that a special military aircraft landed at Dhahran airport during the U.S. vice president's stay in Saudi Arabia. The military aircraft carried an Iraqi delegation led by Saddam Husayn, who twice met with George Bush. The first meeting was a private one, while the second was attended by the Saudi King.

Saudi and international media sources concealed the news about this meeting. They did not reveal anything about what took place during the Ba'thist-U.S. meeting. Political observers believe that the tyrant Tikriti submitted a detailed report to his visiting master on developments in the war in order to make the U.S. administration live up to its responsibilities to protect its interests in the region which are being threatened and also to protect its agents from falling, particularly after the Islamic forces crossed the Shatt al-'Arab and liberated Al-Faw port and hundreds of square kilometers of territory in southern Iraq. These developments have brought the war close to the Saudi and Kuwaiti borders. Kuwaiti citizens can clearly hear the sounds of artillery across the lines between the Ba'thist and Islamic forces.

Saddam's meeting with the U.S. vice president on Saudi territory and at that time in particular has a number of implications, the most significant being:

1. Saddam was afraid that there might be a plan to replace him if he refrained from paying this visit. Thus, he took the risk to meet with Bush so as to avoid giving anyone an opportunity to plot against him and in order to assure the U.S. administration that he is an obedient slave who does not deserve to be punished or be left without support.

2. A joint U.S.-Ba'Thist-Saudi concern was behind this meeting, particularly since the Americans believe that the progress of the Islamic forces to the east or south of Al-Faw would mean a loss of interests and benefits in the region.

3. The U.S. administration believes in the seriousness of the situation, since it has been proven to them that the fence of illusions which they built on the Iraqi side was destroyed by the Islamic forces, and that these forces crossed this fence and advanced inside Iraqi territories. This proves the Ba'thist regime's weakness and inability to confront the Islamic revolution which is trying to topple Saddam who is continuing his aggression against Islam and the holy places of Islam and who insists on fighting against God and his prophet.

4. The direct meeting between Saddam and Bush clearly reflects the state of fright in which the ruling regime in Baghdad is living. It also reveals that the regime does not have sufficient time to allow for the shuttle of mediators between the Ba'thist regime and the organs of international imperialism. However, at the same time the regime is being careful to stay away from the limelight which would reveal its warm and fateful relations with its masters.

The wheel of the Islamic revolution which crossed the Shatt al-Arab cannot be stopped by U.S. promises of support for the Iraqi regime, especially since all kinds of aid and support have failed to stop the progress of this wheel. The United States could not be so foolish as to interfere militarily with its units and forces on the side of the defeated regime. All the air bridges to transport military provisions and supplies to Baghdad will fare no better than those bridges between the capitals of the West and Baghdad during the years of war and which have not been able to restore vitality to this weak regime.

/12929

CSO: 4604/34

IRAN

U.S. WARNED AGAINST INTERFERING IN PERSIAN GULF

LD162052 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 0400 GMT 16 May 86

[From the "Review of Foreign Radios" program]

[Excerpts] Reagan's terrorist government, following its failure in the U.S. Congress to sell weapons to Saudi Arabia, has resorted to a new propaganda game so as to encourage the congress to approve his plan to sell more arms to countries in this region. Some time ago the U.S. Senate and the House of Representatives rejected a plan to sell ground-to-air, air-to-air and ground--to-sea missiles to Saudi Arabia for \$354 million. The plan was rejected by 429 votes to 84. The motive behind opposition of the U.S. Congress has never been officially divulged. But there has been no question of such weapons being used by Saudi Arabia against Israel since Murphy had already announced that any sale of arms to Saudi Arabia would have nothing to do with the Arab-Israeli conflict. Rather the sale is for the purpose of defending U.S. military and economic interests in the Persian Gulf. On the other hand, remarks made by some opponents of this military deal demonstrate their particular concern over the capture of these weapons by Islamic forces, especially as the Stinger ground-to-air missiles are one-man-operated shoulder weapons.

Simultaneous with arming the reactionary regimes and within the framework of its adventurist plans, Reagan's terrorist government, following its recent defeat in the U.S. Congress, has raised the claim of danger from the Iranian Islamic Republic so as to remove the opposition against this U.S. \$354 million military transaction. Reagan's terrorist government pretends as if opposition of the U.S. Congress to its plan to sell weapons to Saudi Arabia would lead to some new developments in the Persian Gulf or would, for instance, demoralize reactionaries in the region, and so forth. Such claims and attempts to relate events of the Persian Gulf with U.S. Congress opposition are ridiculous, and leave one in no doubt that all these claims are nothing but an excuse.

The Iraqi regime has been attacking cargo ships in the Persian Gulf for several years, and in so doing has enjoyed the support of reactionaries and global arrogance. In view of this, the claims of the U.S. terrorist government on intensification of tension in the Persian Gulf is nothing but an excuse for selling arms and having a greater presence in the region. Iraq has long declared Persian Gulf waters to be a war zone and has resorted to

adventurism in this region. The flames of this adventurism have caught the cloaks of all states of the Persian Gulf but it is not the business of the United States to solve this problem.

It is the responsibility of the countries concerned to think of a solution. For instance, they can declare the Persian Gulf waters as a free zone and can force the Iraqi 'Aflaqite regime to abide by this.

On the other hand, the Islamic Republic of Iran, by inspecting suspicious ships in the Persian Gulf waters, is preventing the possibility of the Iraqi 'Aflaqite regime from receiving arms or other commodities which might help its war capabilities. But recently some U.S. and French ships have been causing trouble in the Strait of Hormuz. This is not an easy matter to overlook.

Suspicious moves of Reagan's terrorist government in this part of the world might lead to insecurity and a clash in a region which economically is vital to the world. However, international regulations give the right to the Islamic Republic of Iran to resort to any measures, including inspection of suspicious ships in order to prevent an enemy's access to arms. The U.S. terrorist government knows better than anyone else that intervention in the Persian Gulf or interruption of Iran's legal action will not remain unanswered. Without doubt, the United States would regret any aggressive action it might resort to in the Persian Gulf.

Yesterday, the U.S. President's spokesman, Larry Speakes, said in Washington that the U.S. Government is very concerned about violations of free shipping in the Persian Gulf. He again stressed his countries commitments concerning free shipping in the Persian Gulf.

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CSO: 4640/314

IRAN

REGIME READY TO 'DEAL BLOW' TO IRAQ, U.S.

LD161646 Tehran IRNA in English 1530 GMT 16 May 86

[Text] Tehran, 16 May, IRNA -- President and head of the Supreme Defence Council Ali Khamene'i said here Friday that the Islamic Republic of Iran is prepared, more than before, to deal a retaliatory blow on the heart of Iraqi capital city, Baghdad.

The president, speaking at Friday congregational prayers at Tehran University campus, referred to the recent Iraqi bombing of an Iranian passenger train and said that is a proof to Iraq's weakness in war fronts.

He stressed that whenever the Baghdad regime is unable to face the Islamic combatants of Iran in battlefields, it would resort to vicious acts such as attacks on civilian targets.

Two days before the bombing of the train, Iran downed 11 Iraqi helicopters in war fronts but Iraq retaliated by martyring and wounding innocent people including women and children passengers of a train.

Supporters of Iraq demand Iran not to seek punishment of the Iraqi regime, the president said. But, he added, Islam did not allow showing mercy towards a regime which had committed crimes repeatedly.

He reiterated that the Islamic Republic of Iran has not started the war, and nor the war of cities, but when it was forced to retaliate, the blow was so strong that even made Iraq to admit. [as received]

"It is our duty to defend our people and take their revenge. We will also take the revenge of those martyred in the Iraqi attack on the passenger train," the president said.

Referring to the recent U.S. threats against Iran, President Khamene'i said "we would consider any aggressive presence of the U.S. in the Persian Gulf as war and we will deal our blow on the great stand in the Persian Gulf and outside it, wherever possible."

The Iranians had shown that they would not remain indifferent towards aggression, the president said. "They have done so with U.S. lackeys and will fight with the U.S. with greater enthusiasm," he added.

President Khamene'i castigated Arab governments for watching the U.S. planes attack Libya and doing nothing in protest to the U.S. government. Addressing himself to heads of Arab states in the Middle East and Africa Khamene'i asked why the Arab governments should show indignation towards the Islamic revolution and not towards the United States.

Khamene'i said after the U.S. air raids on Libya certain Arab heads of states had prevented an Arab conference for fear that it might issue a resolution to the resentment of Washington. He said to prevent a meeting of Arab leaders certain Arab heads of state had proposed that any conference to take up the issue of the U.S. raids on Libya should also address itself to the Iraq-Iran war, which artifice he said, had worked because progressive Arab states would not accept the proposal.

Elsewhere in his second sermon President Khamene'i also lambasted reactionary Arab governments for their submissive toleration of the establishment of a Zionist state in Palestine in the face of their avowed devotion to the Arabs. He described the Zionist government as "a depraved aggressor" expanding its hold of the Palestinian lands during the past 38 years and by taking advantage of the conciliatory attitude of reactionary Arab governments.

President Khamene'i drew a parallel between Iraq's ruler Saddam Husayn and the Zionist state reminding that in his war with the Islamic government the Iraqi ruler, too, is inspired by the same expansionist ambitions which landed the Zionists in Palestine in the wake of the Balfour Declaration. He said at the start of his invasion of Iran the Iraqi ruler Saddam Husayn had printed imaginary maps introducing Iran's Khuzestan Province as 'Arabistan' and integrating it in the lands of the neighboring Arab states.

Addressing himself to the Palestinian people Khamene'i said the only way for reclaiming occupied lands is armed struggle. He said to talk with one's enemies at the international forums implies political dealing rather than struggle for attainment of rights.

Khamene'i said like the Zionists Saddam Husayn has a mania for expansionism and that in dealing with the Zionist state and with Saddam Husayn Iran's Muslim people have a duty to resist.

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CSO: 4600/323

IRAN

TEHRAN INTERNATIONAL COMMENTS ON SAUDI-U.S. ARMS DEAL

GP171837 Tehran International Service in Arabic 1100 GMT 17 May 86

[From "World Affairs" program]

[Excerpts] The U.S. Congress has rejected the recent arms deal with Saudi Arabia. What is the implication of this development?

First, does Saudi Arabia need all of these arms? Against whom would it use them? The Saudi policy, since the establishment of the [word indistinct] at the hands of Al Sa'ud early this century, has been based on a number of internal and foreign invariables.

On the internal level, Saudi society is usually classified as a bedouin tribal society. In such a society, the ruler draws his power from the structure of the tribes and bedouins. Consequently, any political opposition to the authorities comes from this structure and its goals are usually part of the tribal and bedouin interests.

Second, one of the invariables of Saudi foreign policy is that it has been, for the past 50 years, linked to U.S. policy in its goals and various forms. This has its effect in a region which has been historically the target of various international ambitions. Also, the region is full of immense strategic potential, made so by the strategic position and natural wealth, mostly oil.

In view of this, we come to the conclusion that Saudi Arabia, with its internal political situation, does not face any serious threats which require all of this military build-up which has been going on for years. Neither does it have any confrontation in the region which may require such deals, particularly when its attitude toward Israel has become clear as a result of its historical stands on this entity and as a result of the country's current links to the United States.

This makes it clear that the arms Saudi Arabia possesses and the arms on their way are only to meet Saudi Arabia's regional requirements. What is this role? The United States gives these arms and therefore it is the first to know this role. What does Washington say about this role?

That is why U.S. President Reagan is determined to veto the congressional decision and push the deal through. Concerning any possible threat presented by these arms to Israel, Shultz said: There are many Arab countries inclined toward moderation and ready to recognize Israel as a status quo and even to co-exist with it.

Saudi Arabia, then, is not facing an internal revolution. Neither is it likely to confront Israel. For whom, then, is it buying arms?

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CSO: 4604/33

IRAN

TEHRAN COMMENTS ON AL-ASAD VISIT TO JORDAN

GF071305 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 0430 GMT 7 May 86

[Central News Research Group Commentary]

[Text] Syrian President Hafiz al-Asad arrived in the kingdom of Jordan last Monday [5 May -- FBIS] for a 48-hour visit. The visit was intended to discuss Middle East issues and issues concerning relations between Syria and Jordan.

This is the first visit by Hafiz al-Asad to Jordan in nearly 9 years, since 1977. During this time relations between Damascus and Amman have seen many ups and downs. Because Jordan supported the Muslim brotherhood -- a dissident group in Syria -- in 1980 Syria moved its army along the border with Jordan. Though this crisis that could have developed into territorial war or a war of attrition, such a confrontation was prevented through mediation by certain Arab countries, particularly by Saudi Arabia. As a result, Syria refused to take part in an Arab summit in Amman the same year.

Yet, despite continued strained relations and the fact that both countries recalled their respective ambassadors, economic relations between them has continued as normal. For example, in 1976 a joint Syrian-Jordanian ground transportation company was formed. Even during the low point of political relations in 1984, the company made a profit of \$500,000. In 1984 Syrian exports to Jordan amounted to \$22 million, while Jordanian exports to Syria totalled \$9 million.

While all this business was going on, political relations between them remained strained. However, over the past year, during an extraordinary Arab summit held in Casablanca, Morocco, committees were established to promote friendship and understanding among Arab states. One of these committees included Saudi Crown Prince 'Abdallah, Tunisian Prime Minister Mohammad Mzali, and Arab League Secretary General Chedli Klibi. It was charged with finding grounds to patch up political relations between Syria with Jordan, and Syria with Iraq.

The logic behind such reconciliation was that by forgetting differences in the Arab world, the road could be paved for the regular Arab summit scheduled to be held in Ta'if but delayed since 1983. In this connection this particular

committee made several trips to Jordan, Damascus, and Baghdad. By the end of last Shahriyar [beginning 23 August -- FBIS], it succeeded in arranging an Arab meeting in Jeddah attended by Syrian Prime Minister 'Abd al-Ra'uf and Jordanian Prime Minister Zayd al-Rifa'i. This finally opened the door to relations between Damascus and Amman. Visits were exchanged between the prime ministers and ministers of the two countries. Early in the month of Dey [22 December to 22 January -- FBIS], King Husayn of Jordan visited Damascus and met with Hafiz al-Asad. Today Hafiz al-Asad is returning that visit in Amman.

Despite the resumption of political relations and exchanges and meetings between the heads of the two states, signs remain of basic difference between the two countries. Syria is a progressive Arab country which has rejected all negotiations or an individual peace with Israel. It believes that until the Arabs reach a level of strategic equilibrium with the Zionist regime, they cannot mention the word "peace." Thus, the Syrian Government -- like all other Arab countries -- severed its ties with Egypt following the signing of the Camp David accords. When Yasir 'Arafat held mutual political talks with King Husayn and signed the Amman treaty, Damascus mustered its resources to isolate 'Arafat from the Palestinian political scene and the region to defeat the Amman treaty.

Despite the commitments he undertook at the Baghdad conference following the promulgation of the Camp David accords, King Husayn resumed political ties with Husni-Mubarak's regime and now he has terminated his efforts at negotiations with 'Arafat. He explains that the reason for this was 'Arafat's rejection of the U.S. proposal, official recognition of U.N. Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338.

King Husayn had long-standing relations with the Zionists even before al-Sadat began negotiations with them. As Shim'on Peres, the prime minister in occupied Jerusalem, has said, they are engaged in talks through the services of the United States. Another factor in the political differences between the two countries is the war imposed by Iraq on Iran. The Jordanian regime has officially declared war against Iran by supplying military and material assistance to Iraq. When Iraq's maritime trade routes to the Persian Gulf were blocked, Jordan's port of al-'Aqabah became the most important port for Iraq's imports.

The Syrian Government however, acts in a different manner. Besides supporting Iran, it has closed Iraqi oil pipelines on its territory thus dealing a blow to the dependent Iraqi economy. Among the other causes of friction between the two countries was the past support of the opposition Muslim Brotherhood group in Syria by the Jordanian regime. Sometime back, King Husayn issued a political communique apologizing for this support of the Muslim Brotherhood. It is said that he has removed the base of the party from Jordanian soil. However, the series of explosions which have taken place in Syria over the past 2 weeks could have repercussions on Damascus-Amman ties. If we ignore the latter issue, the viewpoints of Syria and Jordan are still in stark contrast concerning the Middle East crisis and the Iran-Iraq war. While the Jordanian regime professes to a compromising tilt toward the regimes of Iraq

and Egypt, Syria upholds a progressive stance in the region along side of Iran and Libya. As King Husayn has stated, the same ambivalence of attitudes and viewpoints was evident at the recent session of the Arab foreign ministers in Fes, Morocco, when the governments of Syria and Libya were poised in opposition to Iraq and Jordan.

All in all, the meeting between the heads and officials of Jordan and Syria could well pave the way for the solution to some problems or at least for direct talks in this regard. However, if these talks are viewed against a backdrop of the present situation in the region, these visits cannot be considered a basis for terminating mutual differences.

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CS0: 4640/315

IRAN

COMMENTARY VIEWS POSSIBLE CHANGE OF SYRIAN STAND ON WAR

GF081851 Tehran International Service in Arabic 1730 GMT 8 May 86

[Station Commentary]

[Excerpts] Press and political circles talk about the possibility of a change in the Syrian stand on the Saddamist aggression on the Islamic Republic after the Jordanian-Syrian meeting. These circles say that this change will bring the war to a decisive end where the Islamic Republic will be forced to soften its hard line stand on this war of self-defense.

Two points should be made clear in order to clarify this point: The first point is that the Islamic Republic's stand on the war is based on clear principles in its policy and in its dealings with events. Its war against Saddam's regime is in self-defense and a defense of principles in the first place; the Islamic Republic is not ready to change its stand as a result of secondary events or minor and peripheral developments.

Commitment to principles made it incumbent upon the Islamic Republic to be self-reliant and make do without others. This is the reason behind its success in this war during past years. So far it has not extended its hand to any country in the world for help; nor has it been given one penny as debts. On the contrary, the Islamic Republic has been giving aid to poor countries and to world liberation movements despite the war burden and despite Iran's local commitments. This shows Iran's genuine stands and refutes the speculations that Iran would soften its stand on the war as a result of a change in international relations, or anything of this sort.

The second point deals with the change in Syria's stand on the war. We are not here to discuss this issue because brothers in Syria should do this. However, we would like to clarify a number of points on the nature of the war. These points will answer this question:

1. It is a grave mistake to restrict Saddam's aggression to the Islamic Republic of Iran. This aggression had wide objectives which exceeded the Islamic Republic.
2. Those who supported the war against the Islamic Republic depicted their war as that of nationalism and tried to put their cause in the place of the

Palestinian cause by giving Israel the opportunity to put an end to the Palestinian presence and to negotiate directly with reactionary Arab regimes like the Egyptian and Jordanian regimes.

In view of this, the stand of the Arab steadfastness [and confrontation -- FBIS] countries on the war has been imposed by the nature of this aggression and its objectives.

/12929

CSO: 4604/32

IRAN

TOKYO SUMMIT VIEWED BY TEHRAN IN RETROSPECT

GF080814 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 0430 GMT 8 May 86

[Commentary by the research group of the Central News Unit]

[Excerpts] The 12th summit of the heads of seven industrialized western nations -- the presidents of France and the United States, and the prime ministers of Canada, Great Britain, Italy, FRG, and Japan -- ended on Tuesday night. At the conclusion of this session in Tokyo some political and economic resolutions were issued and Italy was nominated as the host for the next summit conference.

As is evident from the reports disseminated concerning the session and the resolutions, current international issues were discussed such as Third World debts, reduction of oil prices and the concomitant economic growth, Japan's trade surplus, the parity of the world's leading currencies, as well as other economic issues. The economic discussions at the cascus of seven industrialized nations were convened in conditions when the western economy had amassed immense benefits at the expense of oil-retailing countries in the past months.

There is no doubt that the debts of the Third World countries which amount to \$1 trillion are the result of a calculated and coordinated economic policy of these western industrialized nations and their banks which bestow such a chaotic and disturbing situation on the Third World peoples in the long run. In this manner, since each of the indebted countries cannot put up any individual economic resistance against the mammoth economic complexes of the West, it can be concluded that the resolutions of this session are aimed at the continuation of its present repressive policies and increasing the brunt of the indebtedness of such countries. Perhaps it is for this reason that countries such as Cuba consider the (?payment) of a coordinated lump sum at a stroke as the only way out of this dilemma.

In the political field, the most outstanding issues were discussed. The phenomenon labeled as terrorism by the United States and its allies; regional disputes such as the issues of the Middle East, Afghanistan, the Iraqi imposed war against Iran; and finally the various issues between East and West also were reviewed at the Tokyo session. These topics were eclipsed by the efforts of the United States and its most faithful disciple, Great Britain, to reach a political consensus by the west against alleged terrorism.

IRAN

OPPOSITION GROUPS BLASTED AS 'COLLABORATORS WITH FOREIGNERS'

Tehran ETTELA'AT in Persian 13 Apr 86 p 6

[Text] Everywhere the conversation is war. A vast group, ready to risk their lives, is sacrificing everything to them. In the fields of blood and epics, they fight against all the eastern and western arms, petro-dollars, news and propaganda imperialism, discord-sowing and back-stabbing. We are not addressing them; they have found the way to attain their goal. They advance bravely as stated before and do not withhold sacrificing their most beloved ones.

We talk to those who still doubt the essence and purpose of this imposed war. We address those who speak of nationality and shedding the blood of young people. We still do not speak to those who administer these propaganda outbursts and those who try to cover their filthy intentions and foreign collaborations with demagogical words. Since they are officially appointed, they are excused and in the long run, this nation and history will settle their accounts with them. We speak to those who truly accept these words with good intentions and question the legitimacy of the war and its purposes and those who speak of the fatherland. Dear ones, for once study the first interviews of Saddam. Perceive in what insulting and in dignified tones he talks about the "Magi Iranians." Those of you who speak about the solidified fatherland, notice how he answers the questions of a reporter in regard to the future of Iran!

He states: "Except for Arabia (the name that Saddam has chosen for Khuzistan), which undoubtedly belongs to Iraq, I am not interested in the destiny of the rest of Iran but it is better if it is divided into small pieces and each piece becomes dependent on some other area."

You patriots, these idle words are spoken by a person whom you doubt fighting against and you talk about this war. As referred to in the beginning of this article, we are addressing you patriots. I am not talking about the religious belief aspects of this subject. In the first place, I am not able to do it and in the second place, more dependable speakers have explained these aspects and are still doing it. I am talking about the fatherland. Notice how this Saddam of Qadeseyeh (a historic city in Chaldea) insults and despises your nation. As a result of 100 years of noxious propaganda and lies, they have

convinced Arab speaking nations to have the impression that Arabs invaded Iran and defeated Ajam (Iranians). Saddam intends to repeat this historical deceit. Whereas all the learned Islamic historians admit that it was Islam that Iranians accepted with open arms and they became one of the greatest protectors and propagandists for Islam. Saddam and his protectors in the sheikdoms and Arab countries talk about the Arab nation and they have repeated this talk so much that even some of their people believe this great lie. What Arab nation? Nothing under this name exists. These governments are all the result of the activities of the famous English spy Lawrence. As we notice today, in this Arab nation, each goes their own separate way. Are the Egyptians Arab? No, they are Coptic. What about Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco? They are from Carthaginian and Berber tribes and Iraq? Iraq has been the origin and dwelling for Caldanian and Assyrians and part of Ilam and nothing in the name of an Arab nation has existed or will exist. They have only accepted the Islamic religion and its language. Does speaking the same language create nationality? Then what is the meaning of the 300 year war between English speaking Great Britain and English speaking Ireland? Are they not two nations with the same language? Are Germans, Austrians and Swiss with one language, one nation? History indicates that Muslims are one Umma. From the seat of Islam until the middle of the Abbysian era, only Islam united these sects and different races together and created the greatest power of the world. A power combined with advanced knowledge, culture, science, philosophy, and all other endowments of an advanced society. Again in one era and twice under the banner of Islam, the Ottoman Empire was born and these tribes (or the greater part of them) joined together again; what was the nation of Iran doing then? Was it not Abu Muslim from Khorassani who ended the reign of tyranny, oppression, and blasphemy of the Arab Baniomayeh clique? Was not Salahedin Ayubi, a Kurd, who won pride and victory for the Islamic nations in the Crusades against the Christians? We are not going to discuss the educational and scientific contributions of Iranians to the world as a whole and to the Islamic world specifically since it is beyond our subject.

You patriots who speak from Radio Iraq, shame on you! You freedom lovers who beg for your freedom from the contaminated hands of Saddam, shame on you! You talk about nationality and fatherland! Today is the day of trial; do you want to get revenge for the blood of your countrymen with the exception of those martyrs from Khorramshahr, Abadan, and Hoveyze'i? Today is that day. Those of you who are greatly afflicted by the history of the fatherland, come and let us put hand in hand and get revenge for Abu Muslim and Taher Zol-Yamins. You patriots, today is the day of our nation's revenge from the tyranny of Abdullah Ibn-e Ziad, Harun and Mamon, Ma'mun, Hajjaj ebn-e Yusef and Saddam. Why are you sitting still? I wish you would remain silent and not pour water into the enemy's mill, if it is so, shame on you. I repeat again, I am not addressing you the official collaborators or those who excuse you. But those of you who have lent your ears to Radio Israel and Radio Baghdad and whose eyes are fixed upon Saddam's hands. Do you want the independence of the fatherland from Saddam and his protectors. How about freedom? Do you still want our children to read in history (this time rightfully) that the nation of Iran was not able to protect its independence earned through hundreds of thousands of casualties, martyrs and injured! How are you going to answer future generations? How do you answer history? Are you still waiting for the "Lawrence-vomited" Saudis and Jordanians to determine your duties? What has

happened to you? You patriots, this was is the legend of existence and non-existence, it is a matter of life and death of a nation and fatherland. What side are you on?

9815/9312

CSO: 4640/269

EMIGRE PAPER EXAMINES WOMEN'S STATUS WITHIN COUNTRY, ABROAD

Paris QIYAN-E IRAN in Persian 17 Apr 86 pp 1, 3, 7

[Paris QIYAN-E IRAN in Persian: weekly organ of the Iran National Resistance Movement]

[Text] It has been several years that hundreds of thousands of Iranian women of various ages are living in different countries of the world. We have to mention this point since after the victory of the Islamic Revolution, these hundreds of thousands of women were not able to bear the death-like atmosphere of their fatherland under the rule of the mullahs and they escaped from Iran, alone in a few instances, or with their families. What can be studied and reviewed is the participation of these hundreds of thousands of Iranian women in the national campaign to overthrow Khomeyni's regime; their vagrancy alone is one of the atrocious results of this regime.

Before discussing the basic facts, we have to mention again that the vagrant women of Iran in these disastrous and desolate years of vagrancy, have strived hard to firmly protect their families, generously and willingly. It is not an exaggeration to mention that the majority of these vagrant women, in whatever country they have stayed, have worked shoulder to shoulder with the men in order to provide their family's needs and find possibilities for the education of their children. Now, after a few years of vagrancy, any Iranian can point out some of the examples of these model Iranian women, who through hard and intolerable work and effort, have saved their families from breaking up, poverty and hunger. In fact, in this category, the vagrant women of Iran have demonstrated that they are brave, devout and firm pillars of the family. The vagrant Iranian women belong to the educated, specialized and technocrat social groups. They are highly educated and naturally, due to their high education, they have fled the anti-human and especially anti-women regime of Khomeyni. In order to stress the educational level of the vagrant Iranian women, we do not have precise statistics, but there are plenty of signs which indicate that notable Iranian women in Europe and the United States have been absorbed by universities, research foundations, famous medical clinics, social and industrial administrations and learning centers. Among Iranian women there are great numbers of lawyers, university professors, physicians, engineers and administrators. We have to indicate that in the last seven years, an important segment of our educated women have found the fanatic, blind and closed atmosphere of the Islamic Republic,

barren and polluted, and therefore they have fled this atmosphere.

With this short and naturally insufficient preface, we proceed to the subject of this article, namely to estimate the level of participation by hundreds of thousands of the Iranian women abroad in a national campaign. This group of educated women, regardless of their educational positions and learning, are presently involved in the national campaign, but it seems that due to the heavy duty of supporting their family and working hard in order to provide their family's expenses, they have been detained from persistent and undivided efforts in the national campaign.

Women have many duties:

They are mothers, life-giving and naturally, protectors and shelters of livelihood. In western societies, groups of women have greater chances of success in opening doors. Additionally, in order to gain their political and social rights in the society, the western women in recent decades have organized a great number of societies, centers, associations, parties and organs. In order to cooperate with the oppressed women throughout the world, they have worked voluntarily, cooperating and sympathising with these women. This statement of Simon de Beavoir signifies the nature of the western women's campaign organizations: "As long as a woman in a remote village in Asia or Africa is called the inferior sex or Devil's nest and is insulted and oppressed, no woman in the world will be relieved, be in peace, or will stand still."

The Iranian women throughout the West know these facts very well, since as it was mentioned, the majority of the vagrant Iranian women are well acquainted with the culture of western society. Nevertheless, during these 7 years of vagrancy they have not used their natural allure, knowledge, and essential abilities in the campaign against Khomeyni's regime. We are hardly aware of the active presence of the Iranian women's organizations, foundations and societies in Europe and America. We see less of our patriots and sacrificing women, the protectors of our Iranian traditions and customs, on the campaign scenes. We don't see them in groups approaching the parliaments, parties and women's associations and reflecting the echo of the oppressed voice of the millions of Iranian women throughout the seven skies of the world. We don't see them in the position of mothers and life-givers, against the devastating war which has sacrificed the lives of hundreds of thousands of Iranian youth, to be tormented with bleeding hearts, torn clothes and vehemently to awaken the conscience of the human society. They roused the epics of the killed Iranians in the songs of Fonda, Montaud and Baez and make the world cry in the sorrow of their mutilated children.

Khomeyni's regime has imprisoned the Iranians in ignorant bigotry. It is not by accident that this regime has established its existence through massacre, torture and imprisonment. To administer such a dreadful and immense prison, the regime needs a suppressive army. It has hired this army from its fanatics, ignorants, and anti-human opportunists. Now the regime is facing the nation of Iran with this army.

Seldom has there been such a dreadful war, since religious depotism has gathered its army from among the nation, although they are an insignificant minority but are armed to their teeth. The regime intends to quiet and subjugate the millions of oppressed Iranians with bullets, intimidation and death. In such a dreadful war, any Iranian who gives up, stands still and does not inflict a blow on Khomeyni's regime in any manner, will cause serious injury to millions of his countrymen.

In this hell, the Iranian women have been tortured more than anyone else. But inside the country, they have not ceased or surrendered. You notice that Khomeyni's regime, despite all its difficulties and strained circumstances, is not unmindful of the women for a second. From Khomeyni to the commander of the revolutionary corps have created trouble for women once in a while, and the agents of the regime have attacked the women in the streets, physicians offices and government offices. These attacks indicate the women resistance in front of the reactionary and decayed thinking of the regime. The regime does not only use the armed suppressive agents, it also uses fanatic girls and women to confront the Iranian women. In Iranian society, this group unfamiliar with human progress has always existed. We have not forgotten that in 1961 in Tehran, the special schools for Muslim girls were even increasing. The protectors of fanaticism were not sending girls to elementary and high schools but were sending them with veils to Islamic schools. No doubt Khomeyni's regime has selected its first commando groups--Zeinab Sisters--from the students of these very same Islamic schools. Naturally, with the power in the hands of the mullahs, other women joined these commandos and they became the regime's hired workers.

The purpose in remembering these points is that Khomeyni's regime insults millions of Iranian women, purges them, considers them enemies, and organizes the fanatic women of the society as an army to confront them. In this kind of situation, the Iranian women have fled to exile. It is their duty to come to the aid of millions of broad-minded but imprisoned women in Iran. She has the possibilities and is capable of doing it. She is willing to organize an efficient, organized and enthusiastic force from the vagrant women to talk as representatives of the society of Iranian women. If such an organized and international campaign succeeds and expands, then the Khomeyni regime will realize that the Iranian women inside the country are not alone, silent and secluded. From the other side, when the women of Iran inside the country become aware of the extensive and unified voice of protest of their sisters from all sides, they will resist Khomeyni's rule with more determination, strength and vigor.

The Iranian women abroad are now in a position that somehow has overcome the hard conditions of life in exile and they have mellowed. Therefore, they are able to rise and consummate their patriotic and freedom loving duties. There is an open road in this fight ahead of them. We will talk more about this subject in future weeks.

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PRO-REGIME FILM ON BRITISH TV CREATES RESENTMENT

London KEYHAN in Persian 1 May 85 p 5

[London KEYHAN weekly in Persian; founder and publisher Dr Mesbahzadeh]

[Text] Two weeks ago, Channel 4 television in England aired a half-hour program on actions being taken by the Khomeyni regime to export the Islamic revolution to other countries. The airing of this TV program which was produced by Tim Havalin evoked a harsh reaction from all groups opposed to the Khomeyni regime. The extent of the criticism of Channel 4 TV was so widespread that those responsible for this TV station were obliged to air the forceful critical views of Iranians regarding the propagandistic and deceitful content of the film and its producers.

Tim Havalin showed scenes opening up with eager "basi j" members starting out for the Iran-Iraq warfronts, and he spoke with youngsters who had lost their hands and feet in the minefields.

A selected group of girls, 8-9 years old, wearing black chadors were shown in the film ready to export the Islamic revolution.

Interviews were arranged with nine pro-regime individuals and two medical doctors who had studied abroad and who took pride in rendering their services to bring about the fruition of the Islamic revolution. The film covered a limited number of carefully selected individuals who in no way represented the thinking of ordinary Iranians. The cooperation and support of the Islamic Republic regime in the making of the film was quite evident.

The militant philosophy of this film was set forth and interpreted exactly in accordance with the war philosophy of the regime's leaders. A philosophy based on the export of the Islamic revolution.

In the television program criticizing the showing of this film, it was announced that the identity of some of the critics would not be disclosed for security reasons, to protect their life as well as the life of their relatives living in Iran, and that the faces shown would be done in such a way so as to protect lives.

A young Iranian woman, with her head and face covered, read a letter criticising the propagandistic content of the film, and mentioned tortures and

executions without benefit of trial committed by the regime. Then a protest letter written by Mehrdad Khansari, the Advisor to Dr Shahpur Bakhtiar, the leader of the National Resistance Movement was read. Mehrdad Khansari asked the producer of the film: "When you talk about Islam, which Islam are you talking about? The true Islam in which most Muslims of the world believe, or Khomeyni's Islam? At a time when the world's Muslim scholars view Khomeyni as an apostate and when even inside Iran itself he is strongly opposed by the true Muslim clergy, how can you accept for dissemination Khomeyni's view of Islam as deserving of such recognition?"

In his letter, Mehrdad Khansari protested the way the film ignored the role of Iran's army and the nationalist fervor of the young men in the Iran-Iraq war. As for the existence of democracy in Iran, his eminence Shari'atmadari, during one of his interviews, was asked whether democracy was possible in Iran and he said: "How do those supporting the Islamic Republic regime have the audacity to pretend that democracy exists in the country when according to the Constitution of the country the national right of the people to rule has been taken away from them and given to a person called the "faqih."

Two young Iranians who went to the Channel 4 film studios to protest against the content of the film met Tim Havalin, the film producer, and subjected him to verbal criticism regarding his own basic principles. Among the critical comments made by these two young Iranians was: the film producer in most instances had completely distorted the truth; at a time when 14,000 Iranian doctors have left the country to escape strangulation and terror, the film producer relied on the statements of only two doctors in Tehran; not one regime opponent was asked for his views; and he showed nothing about the breakdown of the country's economic and social situation. With regard to the eagerness shown by a group of youngsters to go to the warfronts, nothing was said about how thousands of young Iranians, in order to avoid going to war have left the country both openly and secretly. In addition, the economic blandishments and benefits which the regime promised to give young peasants and young men from the lower class of society willing to go to the warfront, were completely forgotten. The result is that the eagerness shown by a majority of these young people is not for the export of the Islamic revolution but rather to escape from the confusion and to make use of the financial benefits.

A point that was made in criticizing this film was that the film left unsaid the conclusion that emerges from the statements of three persons who are ringleaders in the regime. Hojjat ol-Eslam Karubi said: "The export of the revolution is essential to the revolution. In order to protect the revolution 'in Iran,' the Islamic Republic regime must export the revolution."

Hojjat ol-Eslam J'fari, the head of the Qom religious studies center, said: "Our duty is to export the revolution in order to save mankind and humanity. And for the export of the revolution to save mankind, we have drawn up plans."

Sheykholeslam, the Undersecretary at the regime's Foreign Ministry in elaborating on the statement of Hojjat ol-Eslam Ja'fari said: "These programs for the export of the revolution are a part of our official policy in the

region and the world, and Lebanon is a country in which the program for the export of the revolution is in the process of being tested."

The film itself with commentary against a background of bloody scenes from the fighting in Lebanon and the killing of people was depicted as exhibiting a laboratory test of the programs for exporting the revolution. Interwoven was the point of view expressed by these three official functionaries of the regime that in order to save mankind and humanity, a bloody and murderous revolution must be exported everywhere, and that the servants of God must die and be killed to save humanity. Of course, if one were to ask any official of the Islamic Republic whether or not a result other than death and destruction for the people will come from the export of the Islamic revolution, they would deny it; but the collective view of the regime's leadership has only one result in mind, and that is to destroy society, giving the excuse that it is out to save mankind, and to export the revolution for the salvation of the Muslim world.

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cso: 4640/281

POLITICS: IMPACT OF BENAZIR'S ARRIVAL EXAMINED

Country-Wide Welcome, Strategy Discussed

New Delhi INDIA TODAY in English 15 May 86 pp 26-39

[Article by Shekhar Gupta]

[Text] **T**HE FRAIL arms rise majestically over her *chadar*-covered head, much in the fashion of an orchestra conductor, beckoning, at the same time, to the crowd to join in. But the waiting multitudes hardly need any such exhortation and hundreds of thousands of palms reach skywards in frenzied clapping, rhyming with the slogan of "*Ajj tan ho gayee Bhutto*" (everyone chants Bhutto's name today). The frenzy builds up to an even higher peak as the conductor begins to hurl flower-petals at the crowds in almost child-like enthusiasm and even the content and tenor of the slogans changes rapidly. A new chant begins: "*Zia-Junejo, laanat bhejo*" (rid us of Zia and Junejo) and many more follow growing increasingly angrier and abusive.

Suddenly, in the burning Punjab plains this summer, the political temperature has shot to a degree no one anticipated, surprising even Benazir Bhutto, the 32-year-old daughter of late Pakistan

President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, now making a bid for her late father's legacy and bringing in grudging nods of acceptance even from her arch rivals, the leaders of the Pakistan Muslim League who run the national cabinet. And, above all, General Zia-ul-Haq, the longest lasting military dictator in Pakistan's history who, for the first time, faces a serious challenge to his regime. "This kind of a thing isn't surprising," he said at Islamabad last fortnight, arguing, "the steam always blows when the lid is taken off the vessel of boiling water."

On another plane, a better expression could hardly have been found for the

current mass upsurge that is engulfing Pakistan with the rapidity of a flash flood. Suppressed for nearly a decade, their right to free speech and political activity kept in the deep-freeze of martial law, and their popular leaders either in exile or incarcerated in prisons, the masses of Pakistan last fortnight were drowned inextricably in a catharsis, a sense of release and relief and, more vitally, a belief that the worst was finally over. "With such an expression of popular mood, rest assured, no one in Islamabad will think of imposing martial law again in a hurry," argued a Lahore academic. Added S.M. Zafar, law minister in Ayub Khan's cabinet and a Muslim League leader: "This successful solo flight by Benazir has rendered the very logic of the politics of the last nine years irrelevant. All of us politicians have to change our thinking and strategy to the changed situation now. Everything has worked out for her like a dream and she has an extraordinary opportunity."

For Benazir, making a political comeback after nearly two years of exile in London, it indeed was an extraordinary opportunity. And the exuberance of success was evident from day one. Said an exhausted but excited Benazir, shortly

after the tumultuous, 10-hour truck ride into Lahore, the gateway of Punjab: "With that kind of following, today I could have taken over by force, burnt the cantonments, burnt the ministers, houses and taken over the secretariat. But our party is against violent means. I hope Zia gets the message now and does not try to dig in his heels."

If the million-and-a-half strong gathering at Lahore was dismissed by her detractors as merely a crowd of inquisitive Pakistanis curious to see Bhutto's attractive daughter, doubts were soon laid to rest. Growing from strength to strength and reassured now by the massive show of popular support, Bhutto's daughter was threatening to lock horns with Zia, announcing a deadline of autumn for holding fresh elections. "Or else," she threatened, "we will launch a peaceful campaign to throw out this government."

Suddenly, the arrival of the young former President of the Oxford University Union was threatening to change the whole political scenario in Pakistan. A bit like Indira Gandhi (she begins her speeches with a deadpan "*Bhaiyon aur Behnon*") and every bit a Bhutto replica spouting populist jargon and socialist rhetoric, she was soon engaged in a blistering campaign that took her across Pakistan. From Rawalpindi to Multan and Sargodha to Lahore, where political fortunes are traditionally made, and into the North-Western Frontier Province (NWFP), she was delivering the same message with telling effect: that the days of dictatorship were over, that the country needed an immediate mid-term poll and finally, though not in so many words, that it was time power was restored to its rightful heir.

If none of the other meetings broke the record in numbers that Lahore had notched on April 10, in each city or highway intersection where she stopped to address a meeting, record books were being rewritten. At Peshawar, lakhs of people gathered to the Pushto chant of "*Zia za*" (Zia go), and in the interior of Punjab at Gujranwala and the textile town of Faisalabad, lakhs waited until the early hours of the morning to hear Benazir who had, by now, perfected her message, ending each speech with "and you have all decided now that Zia should...*Jarwe*." Repeated a dozen times while crowds joined in the rhythmic incantation which echoed long after she had driven away atop the highly decorated truck that has become her favourite pulpit.

While this new political gale swept the Punjab plains, the men in power in Islamabad were trying to work out just how bitter was their moment of truth, and in the absence of reassuring political logic, were pinning their hopes on the theory that Benazir's crowds were nothing but a

seasonal phenomenon driven by curiosity more than by any political commitment. "This is just a short drama," said Federal Information and Broadcasting Minister Shujat Hussain, whose father, Chaudhri Zahoor Elahi, had been murdered by Al Zulfikar, the pro-Bhutto extremist organisation many years ago, adding "The people who are going to see her at the rallies are mature and understand the meaning of destabilising the democratisation process we had initiated. Her appeal will fade away in no time."

Prime Minister Mohammed Khan Junejo, who initiated his own round of public meetings in various parts of Pakistan, was more hesitant. "We will put no restriction on these rallies as long as they conform to law. But no one can question the fact this is a democratically elected government," he said at Sukkur, and diplomatically added: "If the people want elections at some stage we could look at that demand."

His anxiety was amply reflected in the actions of Arbab Jehangir, the chief minister of NWFP, who took the risk of attending Benazir's Peshawar meeting to get an idea of the crowd strength, and in a rash of decisions by the Government to please the people. While Junejo promised to give possession of land to slum-dwellers, a process first initiated by Bhutto, there was a stray reduction in prices, and even a hint that the Government was considering a substantial cut in oil prices. "We want to counter this campaign of curiosity with sound work," said Punjab's savvy Women's Affairs Minister, Shaheen Atiqur Rehman, who asserted: "Surely, people will realise who stands for development and who for revenge. I can say most emphatically that people want no more destabilisation in the country now."

General Zia himself launched straight into the campaign against the Bhutto demand for mid-term elections stating repeatedly that in no circumstances could "street-power be allowed to take over power from a legally elected government." But there were signs of nervousness even among circles close to the Government. Late last fortnight, Shujat Hussain had begun loudly declaiming the "persistent use of abusive language" in the Bhutto rallies, and at lower levels, government supporters were warned of the possibility of violence if the campaign continued.

At the same time, there were also indications of another kind of change of mood. The most telling instance, obviously, was the backing for the mid-term poll demand by none else than Yusuf Jaganai, the deputy speaker of the Pakistan National Assembly, just as Speaker Sayed Fakhr Imam—considered a political heavyweight sitting on the fence—spoke of such a possibility in London. And Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP) leaders did not mask their optimism. "A new realism is dawning on these people who have no people, not even a cat or a dog behind them," said PPP spokesman Salman Taseer, claiming: "I have seen people run miles, barefoot, along the Grand Trunk Road just to get a glimpse of Benazir Bhutto. She is their Joan of Arc, with courage, credentials and she is attractive. The people are bowled over."

If indeed the people were bowled over, it was due to Benazir's tellingly effective use of the three most potent weapons in her arsenal: the nostalgia for her father and his family, the craving for a freer political system and the insecurities inherent in Pakistani society, such as the apprehension of an economic crunch and the acute xenophobia given the presence of India and the Soviet Union on the flanks. But her stock weapon was the first of these. Her cheer-leaders called her "*Benazir, Bhutto ki Tasveer, Qaum ki Taqdeer, Inqilab ki Shamsheer*." (Bhutto's reflection, nation's fate and the sword of revolution) and she herself played up to that sentiment with consummate skill. Seeking to cash in on her father's execution exactly nine years ago, she and her partymen rarely refer to him by name. He is just called *shahid* (the martyr), and at each rally crowds shout the slogan of "*Jab tak suraj chand rahega, Bhutto tera naam rahega*". A cry so familiar across the border in India. True enough, the Government had realised where the threat lay and had decided to counter it directly.

Zia himself led the campaign in Karachi asking how could the people allow someone to claim right to power "generation after generation" without asking questions on the past record of the family. "Even when you go to a cattle or horse

fair, you asked questions about the pedigree of the animal you want to buy," he said regretting that the same question was not asked of politicians making hereditary claims to power. At another level the Government supporters were accusing her of raising fascist slogans and perpetuating a personality cult.

But it does not take much to see who is winning in this game. Said Murtaza Sheikh, a Rawalpindi businessman: "The real surprise is the kind of sympathy wave we see for Bhutto today, nine years after the event," and added, "now they wave his huge portraits saying he brought glory to the gallows anew and the day he was

executed not a dog barked on the streets." That bit of analysis, however, has another significant aspect. A lot of the sympathy that Benazir is able to draw today comes from a sense of guilt among large sections of the population for having taken the execution so timidly. At her roadside rally at Chungi Amar Sidhu on the outskirts of Lahore Lubna Butt, a teenaged cheer-leader orchestrating the crowds said: "Nine years ago Zia committed a murder. But we committed a bigger crime by keeping quiet. This is time for revenge and for making amends." The Bhutto nostalgia is an integral part of the Benazir game-plan: her bodyguards invariably turn out in T-shirts reading "long live Bhuttoism".

But in a country obsessed with future gazing there are as many voices as there are 'political maulvis' as to the exact contours of her game-plan. The most acceptable scenario, however, is that following the demonstration of her mass support through public rallies across the country she would have proved two points: that the people want change and for this the vehicle they prefer is her party and not the smaller parties in the loose conglomerate of the Movement for Restoration of Democracy (MRD).

"It is a bit tragic," says MRD ideologue and prominent Lahore lawyer Altaf Hasan, "that she has decided to make the rest of the MRD irrelevant to begin with rather than attacking the army which will be her biggest rival in the quest for power." But such niceties apparently did not figure in Benazir's scheme of things though she made an effort to placate the other opposition leaders by holding a long meeting with the frontier leader Khan Wali Khan at Peshawar and planning

another with Baluch Patriarch Ghaus Bux Bizenjo at Quetta in the first week of May. But she had, so far, deliberately avoided making a frontal attack at the army though she repeatedly taunted the generals for giving away the Siachen glacier to India.

According to political analysts in Pakistan, she is possibly hoping for a deal with the army leading to Zia's ouster. Says Maushahid Hussain Sayed, the articulate young editor of Islamabad based English daily *The Muslim*: "Her assumption number one is that the Americans would be prepared to ditch General Zia-ul-Haq the way they have done with their long standing but unpopular allies in the Philippines and her assumption number two is that her demonstration of mass strength will produce cracks in the 'club' (the military coterie around Zia), and that, finally, with a wink from the Ameri-

cans and a nod from the 'club' General Zia will be forced to step down". The rest could be easy, swearing in the senate Chairman Ghulam Ishaq Khan as the action president and a mid-term poll under Junejo's caretaker dispensation. Benazir has made it clear that she is not exactly averse to the idea.

While on this there is no great dispute, there are grave doubts within the ~~army~~ about her willingness or the ability to take on the army. "There are two clear choices before her, confrontation or conciliation", says Iqbal Haider, general-secretary of the Karachi-based, left-of-centre Qaumi Mahane Azadi, a constituent of the ~~army~~, pointing out that "it will be tragic indeed if she were to compromise with the army to remove this government since this will only mean a change of face and not of the system, and the army will use her and the ~~PPP~~ as a kind of sandbag in its own defence."

Government spokesmen claim that there is no chance of any fissures dividing the army leadership. They argue that even after the civilisation of the Government, Zia has not alienated them. Even the western diplomatic corps finds it hard to believe that the army would turn against Zia as long as he remains in uniform. But ~~PPP~~ ideologues say their approach takes ~~the~~ possibility into account. Their strategy hinges on isolating Zia from the

Pakistani masses as well as Junejo. In fact, Benazir has attacked Junejo only very sparingly.

If much of the challenge facing Benazir today is the army and the US, it is because both factors have been integral to the calculus of politics in Pakistan. Political analysts are near unanimous on the view that American interests are inextricably tied with the Pakistani army. "This is their most allied ally in this part of the world," says Wali Khan. It is through the Pakistani Army that the American channel all their arms aid to the Afghan Mujahideen and given their close relationship with the generals, invariably influence national decision-making. "The Americans need a surrogate Islamic mercenary army capable of absorbing modern technology," says Altamash Ahsan, arguing that in keeping with their global interests the Americans are hardly likely to back Benazir against the army.

Benazir, for her part, studiously refrained from saying anything against the

US, but as her campaign gained momentum, she found it increasingly difficult to contain the growing anti-US feeling among her supporters. As a matter of fact, her detractors within the ~~army~~ had only one criticism to level against her—that she was soft on the Americans and had visited that country on the eve of her return to Pakistan basically to remove their apprehensions. Benazir, however, defends her visit as merely an effort to acquaint the Americans with the human rights situation in Pakistan.

The reason why the US looms so large in Pakistani politics is not far to seek. The Zia regime has been the Americans' closest ally in their most ambitious overseas military operation of all times—Afghanistan—and rightly or wrongly, there is hardly anyone in Pakistan who believes that a change is possible without the Americans okaying it.

That, indeed, poses one of the more serious dilemmas facing Benazir. She cannot afford to alienate the Americans and yet has to cater to a constituency that does not exactly love them. Her approach on the American issue will also determine, to some extent, even the prospects of her relationship with the other parties in the

and most of whom have a pro-left orientation. But today, even more than the old issue of Kashmir, Afghanistan is on the mind of every Pakistani who feels a little mystified by Benazir's lack of commitment or even comment on such a crucial issue. "She is orchestrating a populist rhetoric but is evading the crucial question," charges Khurshid Mahmood Kasuri, spokesman of the Tehrik-e-Istiqlal party and an increasingly estranged member of the MNP.

It is, however, not merely among the pro-government circles and the MNP that Benazir faces criticism. Some of it has come from her own partymen who accuse her of being brash, arrogant and ignorant of the art of realpolitik. While two of the old stalwarts, Abdul Hafeez Pirzada and Mumtaz Ali Bhutto have already made their way out of the party, the other two, Ghulam Mustafa Khar and Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi have made critical references to her. While making light of the dissensions, Benazir's own supporters also underline the need for a unified, strong party infrastructure if she is to take on the Government with any chance of success. "Bhutto had the courage to take to the streets and protest. That should underline to Benazir the need for a strong party organisation," reasons Nisar Osman, chief of bureau of the Dawn in Lahore and a veteran political analyst.

Benazir herself is conscious of that need. Last fortnight, as party workers from Faisalabad made claims to the post of the district president, Benazir angrily retorted: "Show me your detention order. How many times did you go to jail? Chairman Shahzad appointed a lot of people, but when he was being hanged no one said a thing." She has been voicing the same concern in private discussion with close confidantes. She feels resigned to the possibility of arrest and incarceration in case the Government decides to put down her campaign forcibly. But when that happens she would like to leave behind a strong party organisation capable of taking the protest to the streets.

Refreshingly however, in spite of all these problems within her own constituency and support base, she has not fought shy of joining issue with the Government on many controversial questions. She has been prepared to adopt stances that could hardly make her popular with many

sections of the population. Her clear-cut rejection of the separatist Sikh cause in India is one such instance. Similarly, her indirect rejection of the process of Islamisation that Zia initiated is bound to upset some people. But her supporters insist she has chosen the approach consciously. As one of her close aides explained: "Miss Sahiba believes that it is better to take up the inevitable inconvenient positions now rather than make hawkish statements and then be left with promises that are impossible to fulfil."

Similarly, her conciliatory statements on many other issues relating to India, such as Kashmir and the nuclear programme, are unlikely to prove great vote-catchers in times to come. Understandably, the new stance so typical of a mainline Pakistani leader hoping to ride populism to power, has caught the attention of the Indian foreign policy planners in New Delhi. There is an increasing feeling there that the Government should slow down the process of negotiations with the Zia Government as that tends to give greater legitimacy to the military ruler's position. Also, Indian planners wonder if it is worthwhile

making long-term commitments to a regime that may not survive long, at least not in its present state.

Diplomatic circles in Islamabad believe that the long delay in Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi's proposed visit to Pakistan is a consequence of this new rethinking. Indian officials themselves do not deny this but claim that the delay is not solely due to this. Said India's Ambassador in Islamabad, S.K. Singh: "Gen Zia had himself said that our prime minister's visit here would be the culmination and climax of the process we initiated in December. Now that there has been a go slow on this there is nothing unusual about the delay in the prime minister's visit."

But so fluid is the situation in Pakistan now that even in the Indian External Affairs Ministry there is a growing feeling that the best policy is to wait and watch. The argument goes that it is all right for Benazir Bhutto to make conciliatory statements now, but there is no overlooking the fact that it was her late father who gave the slogan of waging a thousand years war against India and who exhorted his people to make the bomb even if it meant having to eat grass. "With Benazir swearing by Bhutism," says an Indian official, "it will not be easy for her to pursue such an independent, original foreign policy."

But that is just one of the numerous problems confronting Benazir today. In her bid for power, she has started talking about economics as well, promising higher minimum wages, self-reliance

and a greater role for the public sector. But it is unlikely to cut much ice with large sections of society in Pakistan who wallow in the luxury of the Gulf boom. "Economic nemesis has already hit us," says economist Akmal Hussain, adding, "from 15 per cent in 1975, today the country spends 92 per cent of its aid inflow on debt servicing. At this rate, by 1990 we will have a negative aid inflow." Other problems relate to the extremely slow pace of industrial development—at a time when hordes of skilled labourers are returning in increasing numbers from the Gulf—and the abysmally low literacy rate (13 per cent). Says Hussain: "If macro-economic independence is the index of national sovereignty, we have already lost it to our debtors and any new regime will now face the challenge of reversing that." Unfortunately for Benazir, it is difficult to translate these facts into the kind of language ordinary people would understand and thus, when she talks of economic reform, she hardly finds many listeners.

But in spite of the problems and the challenges, the honours in round one have gone to her. Her campaign has caught the imagination of the middle classes, of the youth and a large section

of the poor. The international media has given her wide notice and searched all round for parallels ranging from Cinderella to Corazon Aquino and Eva Peron. Barely three weeks since she stepped on the soil of her homeland after twenty five months in exile, she poses the toughest challenge to General Zia's nine year rule.

But that, as Benazir herself admits, is just the beginning. The crucial second round will begin on May 10 when the month of Ramzan begins making it impossible to hold rallies. The Zia regime is banking on this cooling off period while Benazir will attempt to politically consolidate her position by working out practical arrangements with other factions in the MMD. But she knows that she cannot stay away from the limelight for a whole month and her supporters claim that even iftar gatherings will serve as a political platform.

Whether she can do it or not the coming weeks will tell. But Benazir seems unrelenting in her hop, step and jump quest for power in which she has made a satisfactory first move. There is no going back now and she will either end up on the pinnacle of her and her late father's ambition or fall by the wayside to join the huge heap of political castaways in Pakistan. Whichever way his ambitious daughter ends up, whether in power or in the dustbin of history, she will without doubt be at the centre of the drama rapidly engulfing her country now.

New Delhi INDIA TODAY in English 15 May 86 pp 30-31

[Text] *SHE SITS taut and erect, her frail frame sinking into the plush upholstery of the sofa. Surrounded by the shouting, screaming, shoving mob of males around her, she looks like the young damsel in distress. But her aura of authority permeates the large drawing-room of the mansion in Lahore's exclusive Gulberg locality. At 32, Benazir Bhutto, or 'Miss Sahiba' as she is called by her reverent, partymen, is a woman in control. "I am a tough person now," she says. It is this toughness and tenacity that makes her so dominant in Pakistan's political firmament today. Last fortnight, she gave an exclusive interview to Principal Correspondent SHEKHAR GUPTA in Lahore. Excerpts:*

Q. Did you anticipate the kind of reception you have got in Pakistan? Why did this happen?

A. We did indeed anticipate that people were in this kind of mood. What has happened is historic and unprecedented in the history of this country. People think they have, in the 1970s, a vehicle of change to democracy. They see it as their best chance to get rid of the tyranny of nine years and Zia has no choice now but to go.

Q. What do you think will be General Zia's next step?

A. There is nothing very much he can do now. We do not want to be vindictive. There is a door open to him and he can walk out of it. But if he doesn't and tries to play tricks, people will not tolerate it. We will remove him surely but through peaceful means.

Q. Don't you think he could bring in the army to crush your movement? He has used the gun before.

A. I am not sure he can rely on the same gun any more. The army also gets influenced by the popular mood. I am not sure if they will shoot at their own people again. Also, General Zia must understand the possible consequences of calling in the army when he has himself lost popular support. In Pakistan that happened once before when Ayub Khan decided to call in the army and then General Yahya Khan immediately said thank you sir, khuda hafiz (good bye), and took over the power himself, I hope the same mistake is not repeated now.

Q. Are you not trying to usurp in the streets the power that some say they acquired through elections?

A. To begin with General Zia came to power by deposing a popularly elected government. He never had the people's mandate to take over power in the country. Now they held a sham election and claim popular backing. The other day a minister had the cheek of claiming that the Pakistan National Assembly members had been voted in by 50 per cent of our people. I say just this. Can you come out in the streets and collect even 50 persons behind you? They must understand now that their time is up.

Q. Are you not trying to perpetuate dynastic rule?

A. What do you mean by dynastic rule? Dynastic rule means ruling by divine right. But when we have such overwhelming support of the people who are totally disillusioned with the regime it is not the perpetuation of a dynasty.

Q. What do you think is the greatest challenge facing you today?

A. The immediate challenge is to translate this mass upsurge into a meaningful movement to bring in democracy.

Q. What will be your future strategy? How do you plan to translate this support into a movement leading to power?

A. I am not making a bid for power. We only want to bring popular rule back to Pakistan. The people's courage and enthusiasm is enormous and we plan to gradually raise the pace of the movement while keeping it absolutely peaceful. I hope good sense will prevail and Zia will see the fait accompli. But if he doesn't there will be problems.

Q. Do you foresee a problem of dissidence within your own party? Your detractors claim that you face an 'uncles' problem in the sense that it is tricky for you to deal with the men who were your father's contemporaries and knew you as a child.

A. I do not think we have that problem (Laughs). Yes initially, more than me some of these people

themselves found it awkward communicating with me but now there is no problem. I give them respect and there should be no complaints.

Q. But there are problems. For example hasn't your senior party leader Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi accused you of "dictatorial tendencies"?

A. Well, I do not know why he said it. I will not comment on it even though I have been hurt by that allegation. Now that he is going on his vacation to London, I only hope that he will use the time to think about the line he has taken. I did nothing to offend him and I do not know why he should have made a statement like this.

Q. And there are also problems with your other allies in the movement for the restoration of democracy. Are you planning to go it alone now and hijack the whole movement as they allege?

A. We have always been with them and there is no reason for them to feel left out. At the same time they must realise that the PPP has always been the most dominant partner in the MARD, when they talk about the MARD's sacrifices they are actually talking about the PPP's sacrifices. We do not intend to hijack the movement but at the same time we cannot let them hijack the peoples party. Our workers have gone to jail, been hanged and given stripes and it is thus understandable that people have a special feeling for us.

Q. Why have you refrained from making any reference at all to India in your public speeches?

A. There has been too much rhetoric

for far too long, now let us talk substance. This is the time to talk of peace and democracy and not for rabble-rousing.

Q. Do you mean that India is no longer such a useful bogey in Pakistan politics? Is it no longer the best way to get people charged?

A. Yes, I think there can be peace and the two countries can live together in harmony. There is no such problem between the two countries that cannot be sorted out bilaterally in the spirit of the Shimla agreement. The central issue between the two countries is still, ultimately, Kashmir, but normalisation is possible provided the process is initiated sincerely and at an absorbable pace. We do not want any regional instability. We just want peace so people could progress.

Q. In India there is an apprehension that Pakistan is backing Sikh terrorists.

What do you think of the Khalistani campaign?

A. As I said before we stand for regional stability. We do not want any more break-ups in our sub-continent. How can I ever sympathise with the Khalistan demand. As you know the capital of Khalistan is Lahore. The Khalistani maps also include half of Pakistan. I am not going to be party to further breakups of Pakistan. My duty is to preserve the federation and not to break it.

Q. Then how will you counter those in Pakistan who want revenge for the break-up of the country?

A. I do not understand this kind of two-way game. You give it to somebody and invite retaliation. How can we afford this? My answer to the question is, you do not take revenge for such things by dividing your own country.

Q. What is your view of Pakistan's nuclear programme?

A. Pakistan's nuclear programme was unfortunately misunderstood during my father's time and was established as a quid pro quo. My father wanted a peaceful nuclear energy programme, but there were doubts that should not have been there. We want to remove all doubts. We do not want to bomb. We stand for a peaceful nuclear programme.

New Delhi INDIA TODAY in English 15 May 86 p 33

[Article by Dilip Bobb]

[Text] **H**ER FIRST appearance in India was at the historic Shimla summit, where her svelte figure encased in chic outfits striding down the Mall almost stole the show away from her illustrious father and Mrs Gandhi. Benazir Bhutto is back, and though not in India she could very well be, considering the eagle-eyed attention with which her tumultuous home-coming is being tracked by the Pakistan desk at South Block. Overnight, the Benazir factor has altered Pakistan's domestic political profile and added an intriguing new element to India's equation with its combative neighbour, an equation that has for decades formed the corner-stone of Indian foreign policy.

Perhaps for the first time in the last nine years, Pakistan's military dictatorship faces a serious internal threat to its tenacious hold on power. Despite President Zia-ul-Haq's cosmetic concessions to democratic privileges and the easing of the military stranglehold, it is obvious that Benazir represents the oasis in the Pakistani desert for a predominantly large part of the population and is capable, on current form, of backing Zia into a tight corner.

In that context, South Block cannot but be elated at last fortnight's developments. For one, a domestic crisis will not only force Zia on the defensive, it will also concentrate his efforts inwards rather than across the border in Punjab, as the Indian Government is convinced he has been doing.

But the elation is also tinged with a certain amount of scepticism. "We were not really surprised at the kind of reception Benazir was afforded in Pakistan. It was along expected lines. She was the safety valve for popular expression," said a top official in the Ministry of External Affairs. What has been of some surprise is the kind of political savvy that Benazir has shown since her return. "Originally, her tour programme was not scheduled to go beyond Rawalpindi. The fact that she extended it is an indication that her political antennae are finely honed to

the popular mood," said the official. The fact that her supporters have shown a high degree of discipline so far also indicates, in the eyes of South Block,

that she has total control over them.

The Ministry of External Affairs also believes that her strategy has been meticulously planned out in London before her return, as witnessed by her carefully calculated visits to Washington and Moscow before her arrival in Pakistan. Though there was no official recognition of her presence in either capital, her meetings and media coverage were of the level of a major political personage. "She knows full well that the route to Islamabad is via Washington," said a Foreign Ministry official.

Other Pakistan analysts in the ministry have taken careful note of the fact that her criticism has not only grown more strident but, significantly, focussed on Zia and not on the heavily-politicised Pakistan army, whose backing she will undoubtedly need in her bid for "people power". They also applaud her politically sagacious statement to members of the National Assembly, another power group, that "You have an important role to play in the transition." The Indian estimation is that Benazir is banking on the fact that key National Assembly members will resign and switch their support to her once the tide turns. "Already, the deputy speaker of the Assembly has issued a statement in her favour and if other members follow suit, we think half her battle will be won," said one analyst.

There is, at the moment, no change or shift in the Indian Government's policy on Pakistan. "We have to see whether she can maintain the momentum or whether her campaign can force Zia into some sort of panic," said an official. In any case, Indian analysts are fully aware that Benazir has till May 10 to make her move, after which the Ramzan period will halt activity for a month. "We believe that Zia is not going to be so foolish as to try and curb her activities in any way, as that would only

boomerang on him," said one observer. The Indian Government is also careful not to overreact to the fact that many of Benazir's statements on the no-war pact, the nuclear bomb issue and Sikh terrorism have been favourable to India or have coincided with the Indian viewpoint. "She has also made some very negative statements, like the one on the Siachen glacier where she said the Indian army would not be in control

had she been running the country," said an official. "So we are not harbouring any illusions. Make no mistake about it. Benazir as president of Pakistan will be a lot different from Benazir as an opposition leader mustering support for her cause. If she ever does seize power, we know that she will be one tough customer to deal with. Probably tougher than any of her predecessors."

Exiled Leaders View Benazir's Impact

New Delhi INDIA TODAY in English 15 May 86 p 34

[Article by Ramesh Chandran]

[Text]

AS BRITAIN'S television screens showed the massive crowds milling around Benazir Bhutto in Lahore and elsewhere in Pakistan, the huge Pakistani immigrant population faithfully following her progress also seemed caught in the same excitement. The interest was only natural, for London has been the nerve-centre of the activities of the PPP from where most of Pakistan's prominent opposition leaders have been fighting their battle against martial rule. As one PPP member pointed out, the "thrust and momentum" to Benazir's current "mission" had begun in London. She had been given a tumultuous send-off from London last month after addressing a series of meetings in such Pakistani strongholds as Bradford, Yorkshire and the suburbs of London.

Whilst many jubilant PPP followers were hailing Benazir as "Pakistan's Corazon Aquino" and beginning to hope for general elections in the near future, several important leaders viewed the latest developments in Pakistan with cynicism. Abdul Hafeez Pirzada, who along with Mumtaz Ali Bhutto recently formed the Sindh-Baloch-Pushtoon Front for achieving greater autonomy for Pakistan's minorities against Punjabi

domination, was one of those clearly distrustful of the unfolding events. "In her first rally, Benazir has spoken about Lahore being the heart of Pakistan. She is not averse to reinvoking the hated 1973 Constitution. She has pandered to the army by appointing the butcher of Bangladesh, General Tikka Khan, as the secretary-general of the PPP without holding any elections. She wants Pakistan to be a nuclear power. She has also stated in press interviews that the Siachen glacier would not have been lost if she were in power. What kind of conclusions do you draw from all these statements? She is desperate to come to power and for that she will go to any extent to please the generals. Benazir personifies a new brand of militant Pakistani nationalism," Pirzada said.

Benazir's critics say she owes her charisma solely due to her father's undiminished magnetism, a point echoed by Ghulam Mustafa Khar who, perhaps next to Benazir, is the best-known of Pakistan's politicians in exile. A razor-tongued, flamboyant politician, Khar was one of Bhutto's closest advisors and considers himself the "senior-most" amongst all PPP leaders. This has often been the cause of the protracted squabbles between Benazir and Khar over "political

strategy" which finally led to the latter's suspension from the party—a move that Khar has refused to acknowledge. He is unremittently critical of Benazir's lack of knowledge in party affairs. Says Khar: "I think she began with a blunder. Lahore ought to have been her last stop. She ought to have stormed through the country ending with a bang at Lahore, forcing the Government to react. Instead she created a big impact at first and will now progressively end with a whimper. She is totally ignorant about the realities of Pakistan. Her westernised outlook is a drawback. It's fine to talk flowery English but where is your ideological base? Does the party have a programme, a strategy?"

However, most of the opposition leaders plan to eventually return to Pakistan in spite of these grim predictions. Under the present circumstances, they cannot leave as there are a number of cases against them in Pakistani courts. Khar for instance, could face up to 14 years imprisonment in a martial law case, a charge he is fighting in a civilian high court. But for the present, they predict a time when Benazir will not be able to carry the PPP with her. Lacking her father's abilities, they prophesy a leadership staggering from one crisis to another, a point roundly disputed by thousands of her excited supporters in the UK who anticipate a dream-like future for Pakistan under Benazir.

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